CHANGING KINSHIP IN EUROPE[1]

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In recent years the growing interest in culture change has extended to changing kinship systems. Since almost all ethnological studies of kinship have concerned areas for which historical data are virtually absent, severe limits have been imposed on the time depth that could be obtained. Among societies speaking Indo-European languages, however, it is possible to get information on kinship for periods of time as great as 3,000 years. The objective of the following pages is to describe the changes in kinship nomenclature of which we have record and to present an interpretation of the factors which have brought them about.

The history of kinship terms in ten branches of the Indo-European linguistic stock has been documented for differing lengths of time as shown in the table below. In addition, contemporary or recent nomenclatures of languages of the following non-Indo-European stocks were used for comparative purposes: (1) Finno-Ugrian, (2) Basque, (3) Semitic, (4) Turkic, and (5) Dravidian. These languages are dealt with only so far as they contribute to an understanding of Indo-European changes.

Linguistic Branch	Time Depth Obtained
1. Germanic	Approximately 1,000 years with a few terms from 1,700 years ago.
2. Romance	Approximately 2,500 years.
3. Celtic	Uncertain, but at least 100 years.
4. Slavic	Approximately 1,000 years.
5. Baltic	212 years for Lithuanian. None for Lettish.
6. Greek	Maximum of approximately 2,800 years.
7. Albanian	Approximately 50 years.
8. Armenian	None.
9. Iranian	None except for a few Zend words.
10. Indic	Maximum of approximately 3,000 years.

The sources of information for each language are listed at the end of the paper. Most of the data on contemporary kinship were gathered in 1955 and 1956 in interviews with European and Middle Eastern emigrants living in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Anthropologists have devoted a great deal of attention to the kinship terminologies of the various peoples of the world. Their interest is not in the terms as such, but in the way in which they classify relatives. The present study is based on the hypothesis that the way in which a society terminologically

classifies relatives is primarily determined by social institutions. That is to say, it is assumed that the social practices which regulate the behavior of kinsmen toward each other have the effect of merging certain relatives into a single status and separating others into different statuses. The social behavior which thus merges or distinguishes the statuses of one's various relatives is reflected in the terms used to designate these relatives. Hence, where different types of terminology are found it is to be expected that they will be associated with different social customs. It is not expectable that the correlation of social behavior with kinship terms will be one hundred per cent. To the extent that the correlation is not perfect, other cultural influences are presumed to be present.

A subsidiary hypothesis is that changes in kinship nomenclature will be associated with changes in social organization. Consequently, it is assumed that when changes occur in social organization they will in turn lead to changes in kinship terms.

Changing Terms and Social Organization

Lowie (1928) and Kirchhoff (1932) have presented a four-fold classification of systems of kinship terminology. Application to the Indo-European systems of the principles of classification outlined by them yields five types. Two of these represent types as defined by Lowie and Kirchhoff and the remaining three combine features of the four basic categories.[2]

1. Lineal type.--A single term is used for mother's brother and father's brother and a different term is used for father. Similarly, father's sister and mother's sister are merged and distinguished from mother. This type may be illustrated by the English terms.

| △ | ○ | △ | | ○ | ○ | △ |
|Uncle|Aunt|Father| |Mother|Aunt|Uncle|

Ego
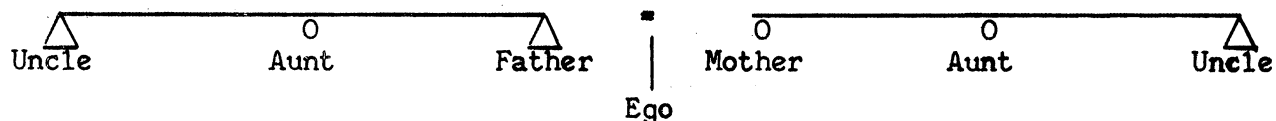
2. Bifurcate-collateral type.--Father, father's brother, and mother's brother are terminologically distinguished from each other. Similarly, mother, mother's sister, and father's sister are distinguished. This type may be illustrated by the Swedish terms.

| △ | ○ | △ | | ○ | ○ | △ |
|Farbror|Faster|Far| |Mor|Moster|Morbror|

Ego

3. Mixed type (Mixed lineal and bifurcate-collateral type).--Male relatives are treated as in the bifurcate-collateral type and the female relatives as in the lineal type. This type may be illustrated by the Serbocroätian terms.

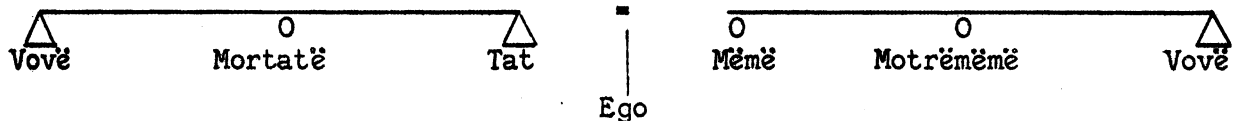| △ | ○ | △ | | ○ | ○ | △ |
|Stric|Teta|Otac| |Majka|Teta|Ujac|

Ego

4. Oldest Sanskrit type (Mixed bifurcate-merging and bifurcate-collateral type).--A single term is used for father and father's brother and a separate term for

mother's brother. Female relatives are treated as in the bifurcate-collateral type. The only Indo-European example encountered of this type is in the Oldest Sanskrit literature as illustrated below.

$$\triangle \quad\quad O \quad\quad \triangle \quad\quad\quad O \quad\quad\quad O \quad\quad\quad \triangle$$
Pitṛ   Pitṛṣvasṛ   Pitṛ | Mātṛ   Mātṛṣvasṛ   Mātula

Ego

5. Sicilian-Albanese type (Mixed bifurcate-collateral and lineal type).--Female relatives are treated as in the bifurcate-collateral type, and male relatives as in the lineal type. This type was encountered only among the contemporary Sicilian Albanians and is illustrated below.

$$\triangle \quad\quad O \quad\quad \triangle \quad\quad\quad O \quad\quad\quad O \quad\quad\quad \triangle$$
Vovë   Mortatë   Tat | Mëmë   Motrëmëmë   Vovë

Ego

It should be noted that the assignment of certain kinship systems to one of these five types results in an incomplete representation of the actual kinship usage. Three examples may be cited. First alternate terms may permit the classification of the nomenclature under more than one type, depending on which set of terms is considered. This is the case for Danish and rural Lettish, which may be classified as both lineal and bifurcate-collateral, and for Ancient Greek, which may be regarded as mixed and lineal. Second, the terms for consanguineal relatives in the parental generation are sometimes used to denote people related in yet other ways. Thus, in certain of the Greek, Germanic, Romance, and Slavic as well as in some of the Finno-Ugrian systems, the terms for collateral relatives of the parental generation are also used to denote spouses of collaterals. Third, in the Middle High German and Icelandic systems, a terminological merging of consanguineal relatives of several different generations exists. In addition, such things as age distinctions within generations (as in many Indic cases) or the lack of sex distinctions (as in Morgan's Kurdish schedule) are not taken into account.

According to the hypothesis stated in the introduction, it is expectable that the various types of kinship terms will each be associated with different social practices. It would be desirable to describe in detail the nature of the associations in the areas under investigation. Unfortunately, however, only their general nature may be indicated since, in the present state of this research project, only incomplete data are available on social behavior.

Data assembled indicate that three forms of social groupings found in the areas where Indo-European languages are spoken appear to be correlated with different types of nomenclature. These social groups are the sib, the patrilineal extended family, and the conjugal family.

A sib may be defined as a unilineal exogamous kinship group (Lowie, 1948:9). It is possible that in ancient times sib organization was present in many parts of the Indo-European area, but precise information is lacking. As a result it is not possible to define the exact nature of such institutions as the Celtic clann, the Greek genos, or the Germanic Sippe. For three areas, however, we have what appears to be fairly conclusive evidence of the existence of patrilineal exogamous sibs.

These are the gotra in modern India, the fis in pre-World War I Albania, and the pleme in pre-World War I Montenegro. The gotra and the fis are associated with the bifurcate-collateral type of nomenclature and the pleme with the mixed type. Available materials provide no examples of the association of sibs with either the oldest Sanskrit type or the lineal type.[3]

Patrilineal sibs are often associated with the terminological merging of father and father's brother, both of whom belong to the same sib and thus have a common status. We may note, however, that the oldest Sanskrit type of terminology is an example of this kind of merging in the absence of sibs. At the same time sibs are frequently found in association with a distinction of cross-cousins and parallel cousins in other parts of the world, but this distinction is lacking in the oldest Sanskrit terminology where the term bhratr denoted brother and any male-cousin and svasr denoted sister and any female-cousin. In this part of the nomenclature, then, the oldest Sanskrit terms are not of the type most commonly found with sibs.

Sibs are expectably associated with terms which clearly distinguish paternal relatives from maternal relatives, since sib membership is based on unilineal reckoning. The lack of sibs in societies using terms of the lineal type, which do not give expression to this distinction, is also expectable. Conversely, the conjunction of sibs with bifurcate-collateral systems is intelligible because the latter type of terms separates sword and distaff sides. The association of sibs with the mixed type of terms, on the other hand, is difficult to interpret. The terminological distinction of male paternal relatives from male maternal relatives may, indeed, be regarded as a reflection of the unilineal principle. The merging of father's sister and mother's sister, however, is an instance where the terms are incongruous although not incompatible with sib organization.

The foregoing discussion suggests a correlation between clan organization and kinship systems of the bifurcate-collateral and mixed types. Our information is, however, scanty and does not justify any sweeping generalization. Data assembled on the patrilineal extended family and the conjugal family are greater in quantity and clearer.

The patrilineal extended family may be defined as, "a residential unit composed of the males of a paternal lineage, their wives, and the unmarried females begotten by the members" (Lowie, 1948:138). In this kinship group, as in the sib, factors exist which favor the distinction of paternal and maternal relatives; hence it would be expectable to find the patrilineal extended family in association with all types of Indo-European nomenclature but the lineal and Sicilian-Albanese.

Data available indicate that the patrilineal extended family has had an important place in Indo-European social organization. The kula of Sanskrit literature was a patrilineal extended family, and it survives in contemporary India as the common residential kin unit (Karve, 1953:53). It was an ancient Iranian institution and survives to some extent in modern Iran (Westrup, 1934:7). It is found in contemporary Armenia (Harry Nelson, personal communication). The anchisteia, mentioned in Attic law, was the patrilineal extended family of ancient Greece (Becker, 1950:310), and it is still found in isolated parts of rural Greece, although it is no longer the most common form of the family (Gorer and Lee, n.d.:4; Mosely, 1953:222). There is evidence of it in ancient Rome, although it was replaced by the nuclear family at a very early date (Westrup, 1934:14, 39). In the

Germanic area, the faelagh of early Danish provincial laws was a patrilineal extended family, as was the Norse-Icelandic felag. Documented Scandinavian examples extend from the time of the Icelandic Njal's Saga to relatively recent decades in remote parishes in Norway and Sweden. The presence of the patrilineal extended family in Germany may also be inferred from the later west Germanic legal sources, including the Lex Salica of the Franks (Westrup, 1934:11). In the Slavic area, the zadruga of the Balkans (Mosely, 1953:220ff) and the bolisaja semija of the Russian peasants (Westrup, 1934:13) come within this definition, as does the type of rural household described for the Ruthenian highlanders (Koenig, 1937:316-317). Finally, in the Celtic area, the Irish sept of the Brehon Laws as well as the gelfine of old Irish family law were patrilineal extended families (Westrup, 1934:9-10).

The extended patrilineal family occurs in association with the bifurcate-collateral terminology in India, Iran, and Armenia, as well as in Ancient India, Ancient Rome, and the medieval Germanic and Celtic areas. It was associated with bifurcate-collateral terms in recent times in Sweden. (No informants were interviewed from that area of western Norway in which the extended family survived the longest.) The extended family was also presumably present in association with the oldest Sanskrit type of nomenclature. It occurs with the mixed type in the Slavic area and in Ancient Greece, although ancient Greek had alternate terms, of which one set was a lineal type.

All of these examples indicate that the extended family is a social factor co-existent with the terminological distinction of paternal from maternal relatives. Only one possible and minor exception was noted: the extended family, insofar as it occurs in modern Greece, is associated with lineal terms. The prevailing form of the Grecian family is conjugal.

The influence of the extended family on kinship terms is exerted through a number of social practices which are connected with this type of social unit. These include rules of property ownership and inheritance, the method of reckoning descent, marriage prohibitions, forms of preferential marriage, and residence at marriage.

Where the patrilineal extended family exists in Europe, property (especially property in land) belongs to the family as a whole, not to the head of the family alone. Although the family head may have immediate jurisdiction over its use he cannot dispose of it except with the consent of the male members of the patrilineal group. This is clearly the case in the south Slavic area (Mosely, 1953:220), in India, and in Sweden and Norway in recent times (Olsen, 1928:43-46). It is documented for parts of ancient Greece (Sparta), for the medieval Germanic peoples, and for medieval Ireland. It was probably the case in early Rome, although this is not clearly established (Westrup, 1934:32-34). Armenia, however, is an exception. Possibly as a result of the influence of Roman law at the time when Armenia was under Roman rule, the family patriarch has complete, unrestricted control over the property of the family (Westrup, 1934:37).

Where there has been a change from the extended family to the nuclear family as the basis of social organization it appears that property and an exclusive right of disposition came to vest solely in the family head. In Attica the individual right of the family head seems to have been recognized by Solon, although an actual right of testation was probably not present until the fourth century B.C. (Westrup, 1934:123). In Rome the actual right of free disposition by the

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paterfamilias was gradual and the exclusive right over the patrimony (familia) was probably not present until the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth centuries B.C. (Westrup, 1934:124). As already noted, Roman law apparently resulted in similar practices in Armenia, where the extended family is still present. Roman law was also an influence towards the introduction of this practice among the Germanic people, where it did not occur before the late Middle Ages (Westrup, 1934:124), when the extended family was probably no longer common.

The ownership of property by the local patrilineal group clearly distinguishes it from the maternal kin whose ties are with the property of their own patrilineal group. This custom might in turn lead to a terminological distinction of paternal uncle from maternal uncle. It would tend, on the other hand, to merge the father with the father's brother, since both might have equal rights in ownership and inheritance. Hence, the terminology with the closest fit to practices of property ownership and inheritance is the oldest Sanskrit type. The next closest fit is the bifurcate-collateral type. In the latter instance there must have been other, stronger factors in the direction of distinguishing father from father's brother. These factors are possibly found in the greater strength of the nuclear family within the extended family, or, perhaps in the existence of property, in addition to jointly owned property, which is inherited only by lineal and not by collateral descendants. In any case, with the development of the nuclear family, ownership of property by the father, and its inheritance only by lineal descendants, both the paternal uncle and the maternal uncle are distinguished from the father by the absence of ties to the patrimony. Conversely, the terminological merging of the father's brother and mother's brother is at least consistent with their equally unimportant position with respect to property and inheritance.

The terminological merging of father's sister and mother's sister in the presence of property jointly owned by the extended family is an apparent anomaly which finds a ready explanation in the rules of inheritance. Where data were available in this subject, it was found that females do not participate in the inheritance. Evidence to support this statement appears in the Dharma-Sutras of India, in old Germanic law (such as the Lex Salica of the Salic Franks and the Lex Ripuariorum of the Ripuarian Franks), in ancient Greek law, and in documents pertaining to Armenia from as late as the time of the emperor Justinian (Westrup, 1934:114-5), as well as in writings on southeast Europe (cf. Mosely, 1953:1; 1940: 100). Thus, rules of inheritance would not tend to distinguish maternal and paternal aunts, although they would have this effect with respect to uncles.

Descent is traced patrilineally among some Indo-European speaking peoples. Extended family organization might, by its very nature, be expected in association with the counting of descent in one line, either exclusively or for most purposes. For example, in the south Slavic area it is reported that descent is reckoned exclusively through males (Krauss, 1885:2). It appears that if descent is not entirely in the male line it is at least primarily so in areas where the extended family exists.

In those parts of Western Europe where extended family as the basic social unit is no longer found, descent is not traced solely in the paternal line, but is bilateral. A slight patrilineal emphasis is evident, however, in the use of patronyms. The difference in rules of descent, then, between societies with ex-, tended families and those without, may be one of degree and not of simple presence or absence of unilineal reckoning. Unilineal descent constitutes an influence toward the terminological distinction of paternal and maternal relatives, and

bilateral descent tends toward their terminological merging. In the Balkans, the mixed type of terminology co-exists with descent which is exclusively patrilineal. In this case the terminological lumping of paternal and maternal aunts is understandable in that the father's sister, although a member of the patrilineal group, is not a person through whom descendants trace relationship any more than is the mother's sister. The equation of these relatives terminologically is correlated with their equation for the purposes of counting descent.

Marriage regulations may be expected to influence terminology. In southeastern Europe the injunction against marrying relatives is much stricter on the paternal than on the maternal side. In Albania and Montenegro, until circa 1914, it was forbidden to marry any patrilineal relative no matter how remote, whereas marriage to the children of a maternal uncle or aunt was permissible. This rule was a function of sib organization. The "sapinda" regulation formerly in effect in India forbade a man to marry a girl with whom he shared a common male ancestor within seven generations in the paternal line. In the maternal line marriage was permitted if the common ancestor were more than five generations removed. Later, with the development of sib organization, this rule was extended to exclude marriage with any person in the father's line regardless of how remote (Karve, 1953:55, 57).

A rule which imposes heavier restrictions against marrying paternal relatives than maternal relatives, or vice versa, would be an influence towards the terminological distinction of these relatives. A rule which regards consanguinity as a bar to marriage without respect to the line of descent would tend to favor the merging of paternal and maternal relatives. The ancient Roman law of marriage prohibited the marriage of collaterals on both·sides of the family up to the sixth degree inclusive (i.e., up to second cousins) (Corbett, 1930:48). Associated with this law, however, were bifurcate-collateral terms, which separate paternal and maternal relatives. In ancient Athens, incest taboos applied equally to the children of father's siblings and mother's siblings (Savage, 1907: 49). These taboos were associated with alternate terms, one set being lineal and the other mixed. The spread of Christianity into Europe brought with it a concept of incest which forbids intermarriage equally on both sides of the family (cf. Mace, 1953:154). In most of Western Europe Christianity is associated with the use of lineal terms. It is notable, however, that both the mixed and the bifurcate-collateral types of nomenclature still exist in the strongly Roman Catholic and Orthodox Catholic Balkans, in thoroughly Roman Catholic Poland, and in Protestant Sweden. Thus, in ancient Rome and Greece, the Balkans, Poland and Sweden the association of marriage rules and kinship terminology is incongruous. The explanation in some cases might be that the marriage rules are de jure but not de facto institutions. An alternate explanation might be that the influence of marriage rules on terms is overridden by contrary influences emanating from other social practices. Perhaps most important is simply that the terms constitute an instance of culture lag.

In Europe as a whole the only rule of preferential marriage is that one should marry a non-relative. This is associated with kinship terms which do not merge one's spouse or the relatives of one's spouse with one's consanguineal relatives.

The levirate has been documented for Northern Albania (Durham, 1928:202), the ancient Jews (Cross, 1927:6ff, 75), and certain Finno-Ugrian speaking peoples (Harva, 1947:64ff).[4] The levirate might be expected to be associated with a

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terminological merging of husband with husband's brother. Although the latter type of merging was not found, the use of a term distinguishing the husband's brother from the wife's brother and the sister's husband does occur in Morgan's Hebrew schedule. This terminological isolation of the husband's brother is at least consistent with the latter's special position as a preferred spouse. On the other hand, a special term for the husband's brother is found in Ancient Greek, Latin, Old Slavic (and many of the modern Slavic languages), Lettish, and Armenian. So far as our research has gone, no evidence has been found of the existence of the levirate in the societies speaking these languages. Among the North Albanians the levirate is associated with the term konati, which denotes husband's brother, wife's brother, and sister's husband. In this case, the kinship term is inconsistent with the marriage rule. Konati is a loan word from Italy (Italian cognato, "brother-in-law"), which suggests the diffusion of a word incorporating a new terminological classification of kin to an area where it is not consistent with existing kinship practice.

Preferential marriage to father's brother's daughter is reported for the Iranian speaking Kurds (cf. Barth, 1954) as well as for the contiguous Semitic speaking groups, including the speakers of Syrian Arabic (cf. Davies, 1949). In the latter case it is associated with certain peculiarities of kinship nomenclature, including the terminological lumping of father's brother with spouse's father:

Syrian Arabic	
'amm	- FaBr, SpFa
?ibn 'amm	- FaBrSo, Hu, SpBr
bint 'amm	- FaBrDa, Wi, SpSi
mart 'amm	- FaBrWi, SpMo
kunnit 'amm	- HuBrWi

According to our Syrian respondent, when the father-in-law is also the father's brother he may be referred to as 'amm, which has the primary connotation of father's brother, or as hama, which means "spouse's father." Among the Kurds, where the same marriage practice prevails, a corresponding practice exists whereby the father-in-law continues to be referred to as "father's brother." However, there is also a term khazur which means "spouse's father," just as in Arabic there is a term hama, "spouse's father." Thus, the terminology includes two terms for a person related to the speaker in two ways, with the consequent choice of either term depending on which role is, for whatever reason, emphasized.

Extended family organization influences kinship terms through the patterns of residence which it entails. The general rule in the patrilineal extended family is for the men to remain in the household but for the women to marry out. As a result, although the household is composed of males who are consanguineally related, the only consanguineally related females are young girls. Adult women are outsiders related only by affinity to the male members. In such a situation, the position of the father's brother is that of one of the authoritarian adult males with whom one lives, whereas the mother's brother is an adult relative who is spatially remote and lacks an authoritarian status. These differences between

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the paternal and the maternal uncles are reflected in the use of terms which also distinguish the two, as seen in the association of extended family organization with the bifurcate-collateral, mixed, and oldest Sanskrit types of nomenclature.

Where the patrilineal extended family exists, residence after marriage is patrilocal. Before marriage, the father's sister lives in the paternal household. Her status, however, is not comparable with that of the father's brother, for it is that of an immature person and a female. Because she lives with the patrilineal household her status differs from that of the mother's sister who is a member of a different household and is spatially removed. This fact favors the terminological distinction of the paternal aunt from the maternal aunt, and finds expression in the association of the extended family with bifurcate-collateral and oldest Sanskrit types of terminology. On the other hand, at the very time that a girl comes of age and marries, she leaves the household, so that, like the mother's sister, she also is now removed spatially from the household of her birth. This similarity might reasonably result in a corresponding terminological merging of paternal and maternal aunts, a possibility which is consistent with the association of extended families with the use of the mixed type of terms.

The third form of kinship institution found in areas where Indo-European languages are spoken is the conjugal family. Where the conjugal family is the basic unit of social organization it constitutes a factor favoring the neglect of the paternal-maternal distinction in kinship terminology. The pattern of residence in such societies is neolocal, the family members are equally isolated from collateral relatives on either side. Family property tends to be exclusively controlled by the father and is inherited only by direct offspring; neither father's brother nor mother's brother is distinguished by any special relationship to it. The tracing of descent is bilateral. The prohibition of marriage with consanguineal relatives applies alike to both sides of the family. With respect to all of these social practices, collateral relatives are distinguished from the members of the biological family, but they are not distinguished from each other. As a result, we find that throughout Western Europe, where the conjugal family prevails, a lineal type of terminology is generally used. The major exception is in Scandinavia, where the Swedish terms, and an alternate set of the Danish, are of the bifurcate-collateral type.

One of the most noteworthy results of this research is the apparently strong correlation between types of kinship terms and the forms of the family revealed by historic records of changes in both of these cultural spheres. Where historical data are available it was found that contemporary Indo-European systems of the lineal type were in every instance preceded by terminologies of either the bifurcate-collateral or the mixed type. Specifically, this was found to have been true among certain societies speaking Germanic, Romance, Greek, Celtic, Slavic, and Baltic languages. In each of these societies for which we have pertinent data, there has been a corresponding replacement of the patrilineal extended family by the conjugal family as the basic unit of social organization. Other societies which underwent no change in the lineal system have retained the patrilineal extended family as the basic social unit.

Germanic branch. The societies speaking Old High German and Anglo-Saxon, both of which lasted until approximately 1100 A.D., had a bifurcate-collateral system. At that time the patrilineal extended family was also characteristic of the Germanic area. The evidence on wergild rights and duties indicates the greater importance of patrilineal kin in property, inheritance, and the tracing of

descent. The loss of the bifurcate-collateral type of terminology appears to be correlated with the growth of the feudal system based on ties other than kinship. The most recent West European example of extended family organization (Sweden and Norway) and also the only Germanic survival of bifurcate-collateral terms (Sweden and Denmark) existed in Scandinavia, on the margins of the Germanic area.

Romance branch. The ancient Romans were using a bifurcate-collateral terminology approximately 2,000 years ago. Its replacement by a lineal system is associated with the displacement of the extended family by the conjugal family as the basic social unit, the growth of a concept of family property as the exclusive possession of the paterfamilias (including the right of testamentary inheritance), and marriage prohibitions applying equally to both the paternal and maternal sides of the family. These changes, in turn, are associated with the development of the Roman Empire and its colonization and commercialism. The changes in social organization took place some centuries before the changes in nomenclature. The time lag in the change of the terms, however, might be more apparent than real, since the documented changes in social structure could well have been de jure rather than de facto. The modern French, Spanish, Sephardic-Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Catalan, Provençal, Rhaetian, and Rumanian speaking peoples all use lineal terms. This change took place before the isolation of these peoples from each other following the breakdown of the Roman military organization and school system around 700 A.D. (Anderson, 1934:6-7; Grandgent, 1907:3-4).

Greek branch. In Greece the terminology used during the Homeric period was apparently the bifurcate-collateral type.[5] Between the fifth and the third centuries B.C. alternate terms were used, one set lineal, the other mixed. The modern Greek terminology has only lineal terms. The terminological usages between the third century B.C. and the present are obscure. During the first several centuries of the Christian era, the only clear example noted of the distinction of paternal and maternal uncles is in the use of the term metradelphos, "mother's brother," by Pollux in the second century A.D. (Delbrück, 1889:486). It is well documented, on the other hand, that a special term to denote the father's sister was used during the second and third centuries A.D. (Liddell and Scott, 1940:1349 πατρο-κάσιγνήτη, 1348 πάτρα, 1405 πικάτρα, 1402 πιάτρα). In any case, the use of a lineal terminology from the fifth century B.C. until the present is established, and its appearance in Greece is associated with the displacement of the extended family by the conjugal family as the fundamental social unit (although this displacement was never complete and the extended family is still found in parts of Greece). Property owned individually rather than by the extended family and inherited by lineal rather than collateral relatives was an early phenomenon. Also, marriage restrictions were early applied to both sides of the family equally. These social practices all tend to distinguish collateral relatives from the members of the conjugal family, but not, on the basis of patrilineality versus matrilineality, from each other. The development of these practices was associated with the growth of city states and commercialism on an extended scale during and after the fifth century B.C.

Celtic branch. It appears that the medieval Irish and Manx terms were bifurcate-collateral and co-existed with extended family organization and property rights prohibiting the alienation of family property without the consent of all male paternal relatives (Westrup, 1934:34). The change in terminology is associated with a change towards nuclear family organization and inheritance of family property by primogeniture.

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Slavic branch. The speakers of Old Slavic, around the year 1000 A.D., used a mixed type of terminology.[6] Old Slavic cannot be regarded as proto-Slavic in the sense that it is the language from which all the modern Slavic languages are descended, for it already possessed some characteristics specific for the south Slavic area (DeBray, 1951:1). As far as kinship terms are concerned, however, it appears to represent the type common to all the Slavic languages of that time. The mixed type of kinship terminology is still used by the speakers of Serbocroatian, Ruthenian (a Ukrainian dialect), Lusatian, Slovak, and Polish. A bifurcate-collateral terminology is used by Bulgarian speakers, the Old Slavic term tetka denoting the father's sister only (cf. footnote 1), and an indigenous term, lelja, denoting the mother's sister.

The speakers of Dalmatian-Serbian, Slovenian, Russian, Ukrainian, and Czech have a lineal nomenclature. Although we have not determined the time when the change to a lineal system took place in these areas, it may be noted that they represent those parts of Eastern Europe where industrialization and urbanization have made relatively the greatest progress. It seems reasonable to think that the latter developments affected the kinship terms by leading to changes in kinship behavior.

Baltic branch. The contemporary Lettish terms are in a process of change which also appears to be related to urbanization. This conclusion is based on the observation that in rural Latvia both bifurcate-collateral and lineal terminologies are used, yet in urban areas only lineal types occur. In Lithuania a bifurcate-collateral terminology was used in 1744, a mixed in 1860, and a lineal is used at the present. Here, again, at least a temporal correlation with urbanization is evident as Lithuania has been drawn into closer contact with the technologically more advanced areas of Europe.

It is noteworthy that in all societies for which changes to a lineal terminology have been documented, changes in social organization are also evident. Equally important is the observation that the areas where lineal systems do not occur are precisely those areas where the social and cultural traditions have also remained relatively conservative. In India no change has taken place in the type of kinship terminology since the change from the oldest Sanskrit type to the bifurcate-collateral type of later Sanskrit literature, perhaps some 3,000 years ago. Similarly, speakers of the modern languages of the Iranian branch all have either a bifurcate-collateral or a mixed type of terminology.[7] Albania and Armenia, too, are areas where bifurcate-collateral terms are used. In each of these regions of technological conservatism the extended family with its associated social customs is found.

The thesis of this paper is that systems of kinship terminology are determined by other social factors. The possibility that kinship terms can be used after the factors which originally led to their emergence have disappeared is one of the oldest postulates in the science of anthropology. The fact that a cultural element has existed and become well established in the past may be regarded as an influence towards its continued use. Cultural conservatism of this sort may be invoked to explain the retention of the mixed type of terminology in urban areas of Finland, Poland, and Yugoslavia, since the social practices which might have been direct causal influences and which still occur to some extent in rural areas are not present in the cities. Cultural conservatism might also help to explain the existence of a bifurcate-collateral terminology in Sweden and urban Bulgaria, where the relevant social practices again are absent. Swedish

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social organization does not at present differ notably from that of other Germanic areas, which changed long ago to a lineal terminology.

Finally, one may speak of a kind of linguistic causation. In many systems of kinship nomenclature the terms for collateral and remote relatives are modifications of the terms referring to the members of the nuclear family. Among societies speaking languages of the Indo-European stock this practice is typical of Armenia, Latvia, and all Scandinavian and Celtic language speakers. It is also typical of Arabic speakers. The practice is true of the terms for parents' siblings in Ancient Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit and for the children of parents' siblings in the Slavic languages. The Swedish and Armenian terms are given here as an example.

Language	Fa	Br	So	FaBr
Swedish	far	bror	son	farbror
Armenian	hair	yerpair	vorte	horyerpair

Language	FaBrSo	BrSo
Swedish	kusin	brorson
Armenian	horyerpairdura	zarmik

In these instances it must be recognized that the method of coining terms might in itself be an influence in determining the type of nomenclature. Thus, in the Swedish and Armenian examples the symmetry of the systems perhaps finds subsidiary reinforcement in the linguistic practice, when referring to other relatives, of compound terms based upon those used for nuclear family members. Linguistic causation of this sort, however, is probably never a major factor in the development of a system of kinship terminology. Its most positive influence is possibly as a factor reinforcing terminological lag.

Changing Terms and Culture Contact
Consanguineal Terms

Eastern Europe.--If the various types of terminology are plotted on a map, it becomes clear that there is a very strong tendency for each type to occupy a continuous geographical area. In Eastern Europe the mixed type of nomenclature is used by many contemporary Slavic peoples, occurring in all of Yugoslavia except Slovenia, in Lusatia, Slovakia, Ruthenia (part of Ukrainia), and in Poland. This area is increased if one goes back in time. The mixed type was formerly characteristic of Bohemia and Moravia, and probably of Bulgaria. In the Old Slavic period, circa 1,000 years ago, it was almost certainly universal among the Slavs. Although evidence for it is lacking in the neighboring Germanic or Romance areas, it existed in Greece between the fifth and third centuries B.C. (co-existing with an alternate set of lineal terms). In the Baltic area it is documented for Lithuania in 1860, though not in 1744 nor the present. It occurs in parts, at least, of Kurdistan. Of the non-Indo-European groups, all but one have either bifurcate-collateral or lineal types of terminology. The single exception is in Finland, which is territorially adjacent to the Slavic and Baltic areas, where the mixed

type also occurs. Although all of these languages but Finnish are Indo-European the fact must not be overlooked that they have been undergoing independent and separate development for an extremely long time and, although the Slavic usages of the mixed type are all the result of a common origin, the sharing of this type between the Slavic, Baltic, Iranian, Greek, and Finnic areas could be the result of culture contact rather than common inheritance or parallel development, for territorial proximity presents an opportunity for the spread of culture traits.

The philological evidence indicates that the diffusion of a single linguistic term was the major influence in the acquisition of the mixed type in certain of these instances. The difference between the bifurcate-collateral and the mixed types of nomenclature is that in the latter father's sister and mother's sister are both called by a single term (and distinguished from mother) whereas in the former father's sister and mother's sister are called by different terms (and distinguished from mother). A language by language survey shows that in every case of the mixed type except the territorially remote Kurdish, the crucial term denoting "aunt" (i.e., both father's sister and mother's sister) is the same basic word, although the words for the male collateral relatives (i.e., one for father's brother and another for mother's brother) are unique to each of the linguistic branches. This is illustrated in the following table.

Language	FaBr	MoBr	"aunt"
Slavic			
Old Slavic	stryjcb	ujka	teta
Serbocroátian	stric	ujak	teta
Ruthenian	strii	vui	titka
Slovak	stryc	ujec	tetka
Lusatian	tryk	vuj	ceta
Polish	stryj	wuj	ciotka
Baltic			
Lithuanian, 1860	dode	awynas	teta
Greek			
Ancient Greek	pátrōs	métrōs	tethís
Finnic			
Finnish	setä	eno	täti
Iranian			
Kurdish	mam	khal	pur

Parallel development is, indeed, a possible explanation. It is probably the best explanation for the mixed terms used in Kurdistan. But it is a far less likely explanation for those areas where the societies using the terminology are not only in territorial contiguity but use the same crucial Indo-European word. In addition, the mixed terminology is peculiar in that while it is associated with the same general form of social organization as the bifurcate-collateral type, the latter is much the more common type of terminology. The more peculiar a culture trait is, the less likely it is to have developed more than once.

In Finnish the crucial term denoting both father's sister and mother's sister is täti, an Indo-European loan word borrowed from Slavic or Baltic neighbors. Since the rest of the Finnic speaking peoples use a bifurcate-collateral terminology the conclusion is warranted that the Finnish situation is the result of contact with Indo-European speaking societies and, more specifically, the adoption of the mixed type was associated with the borrowing of this term.

In Lithuanian the following changes have taken place.

Lithuanian	FaBr	MoBr	FaSi	MoSi
1744 bifurcate-collateral	dedis	awynas	dede	tetta
1860 mixed	dode	awynas	teta	teta
1948 lineal	dėdė	dėdė	teta	teta

The Lithuanian mixed terms are clearly not the result of a common Indo-European inheritance, for they were preceded by a bifurcate-collateral type. The change to the mixed type of the nineteenth century was by means of a redefinition of the old Indo-European term teta, with the result that its usage corresponded to that of the neighboring Slavic speaking peoples. The word itself was already present, but its meaning was changed. The fact, however, that the change concerned a word which was shared by peoples living in territorial contiguity, as well as the peculiarity of the mixed type of terminology, constitute strong presumptive evidence for the influence of diffusion.

The first record of a mixed terminology in Greece is in the fifth century B.C. As in Lithuania, the use of mixed terms in Greece was preceded by the use of bifurcate-collateral terms. The location of Greece in the Balkan region where mixed terms are reported, although over a millennium later, for Slavic inhabitants, plus, again, the peculiarity of the mixed type and the fact that it concerns the same crucial term, suggest that culture contact was the most significant factor in the Balkan nomenclatures. Although the available information thus indicates that the Slavic and Greek classifications constitute a single phenomenon, there is no indication here as to which culture was donor and which was recipient. Also, it is possible that the Eastern European mixed terminology originated in one of these two culture areas.

Diffusion, the spread of a culture trait in space, may be distinguished from acculturation, which is the increasing resemblance of two cultures to each other as the result of continuous contact. In our study of Indo-European kinship we found abundant evidence of the diffusion of kinship terms in the form of linguistic borrowing. This establishes a fact of minor theoretical interest, for it is not terms per se which are of theoretical importance, but the way in which terms classify relatives. Nowhere in anthropological literature is there clear, incontrovertible evidence for the diffusion of a different terminological classification of relatives without its cultural correlates, the behavioral patterns which are associated with the terms. Now, the spread of the mixed type of terminology in Eastern Europe may be regarded as diffusion which involves the spread of a new system of kinship terms without new behavior patterns, but this is because its

cultural correlates are essentially the same as those of the bifurcate-collateral type which it replaced. Though it may be regarded as the diffusion of a unique pattern of kinship nomenclature, then, its theoretical implications are slight, since the difference from the displaced terms does not seem to have any fundamental significance in terms of social structure.

Middle East.--In the Iranian area there is also a situation of culture contact and culture change. In the remote regions of Afghanistan the Pushtu tribe uses a lineal terminology, but in the less remote Pushtu districts the terms are bifurcate-collateral, as are the Persian terms. An examination of the words themselves indicates that the change in Pushtu was the result of contact with Persian culture.

Language	FaBr	MoBr	FaSi	MoSi
Pushtu (remote	tra	tra	tror	tror
Pushtu (contact)	kaka	mama	amma	khala
Persian	kaka	mama	amma	khala

The Pushtu speaking Afghans in contact with Persian culture use a bifurcate-collateral terminology which is unquestionably borrowed directly from Persian speaking people. The borrowing has apparently taken place within the last two centuries, for Persian speech came to Afghanistan approximately two hundred years ago when the Afghan king employed literate Persians as court secretaries, whose language came to be spoken in the court and ultimately by the population in and around Kabul. A problem for further research is to determine the extent to which that part of the Pushtu tribe which adopted the Persian kinship terms (although not the Persian language) also modified other aspects of their culture in the direction taken in the court at Kabul.

The Persian terms themselves have been affected by culture contact. Those for father's brother and mother's brother are cognate with synonyms in some Indo-European languages of India and may be assumed to represent a common heritage. The Persian words for father's sister and mother's sister, however, are not cognate with any of the Indo-Iranian languages but with the terms of the Semitic group in territorial contact with them, i.e., Arabic ammet, "father's sister," and khalet, "mother's sister." This is probably a case of the diffusion of words without a change in classification, since in Sanskrit (closely related to Zend, the ancestral language of Persian) a bifurcate-collateral type was also used. The spread of these Arabic terms into Iran and Afghanistan is connected with the spread of Islam, and presents an example of religion as an important factor in the diffusion of kinship practice and nomenclature.

In Kurdistan there is again evidence of changes resulting from culture contact. In modern Iranian Kurdistan a mixed type of terminology is used. The term pur denotes both father's sister and mother's sister and appears to be cognate with Pushtu trur having the same meaning. The Kurdish terms for male collaterals are mam, "father's brother," and khal, "mother's brother," which suggests that possibly the distinction of paternal from maternal male relatives was due to the borrowing of a non-Indo-European word. However, it is also possible that only the word was diffused and that it simply replaced a native word of the same meaning.

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In Kuzulbashi-Kurdish of 1860, terms of Arabic origin were the only ones used for parent's siblings. However, the term ammeh denoted "father's brother, father's sister" and khaleh, "mother's brother, mother's sister," whereas in Arabic these terms have male and female forms.

Language	FaBr	MoBr	FaSi	MoSi
Kuzulbashi-Kurdish	ammeh	khaleh	ammeh	khaleh
Arabic	amm	khal	ammet	khalet'

There is not enough evidence to elucidate the processes that took place, but there is this inferential evidence to indicate the diffusion of terms from Arabic to Kuzulbashi-Kurdish. We have here a case in which diffused words were reinterpreted in the recipient culture, resulting in a type of kinship nomenclature different from that of the donor. It is possible that the Kuzulbashi-Kurdish type utilizing Arabic words was also different from that in use before the borrowing took place, for our modern Kurdish schedule shows a mixed type.

India.--In Marathi there are alternate terms for cousins. One set of terms distinguishes the children of father's brother, mother's brother, father's sister, and mother's sister from each other. This type is the most common one of the modern Indic languages being found in Sindhi, Punjabi, Hindi, Bihari, Bengali, Rajastani, Gujarati, and Urija. The alternate set is made up of the terms mehuṇā, "male cross-cousin," and mehuṇi, "female cross-cousin," and is not found in the other Indo-European languages.[8] The latter words themselves are of Sanskrit origin but are used as kinship terms only in Marathi, where they have undergone redefinition. The terminological merging of cross-cousins is associated with the practice of cross-cousin marriage and is undoubtedly the consequence of acculturation with the Dravidian culture to the south where cross-cousin marriage is common, in contrast to the Indo-European speaking parts of India where it is absent (Karve, 1953:166). Here, then, the form of marriage has diffused but the terms constitute a separate, indigenous development in response to the new kinship institution.

Western Europe.--Turning to the Germanic area we find that the Old High German bifurcate-collateral terms ceased to be used sometime around 1100 A.D. The terms used during the subsequent Middle High German period reveal a change not to a lineal system, as might be expected, but to a system which does not fit in any clear-cut way into the Lowie-Kirchhoff classification. In Old High German the following terms were used:

fatureo - father's brother

oheim - mother's brother

basa - father's sister

muoma - mother's sister
sibling's son (nephew)

nëvo - child's son (grandson)
parent's sibling's son (male-cousin)
sibling's daughter (niece)

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nift   - child's daughter (granddaughter)
            parent's sibling's daughter (female-cousin)

In the Middle High German period něvo was used as a reciprocal term between
nephew or niece and a parent's brother, and nift, between nephew or niece and
a parent's sister. In other respects the Old High German application of these
terms was retained. Thus, the Middle High German terms were used as follows:

něvo   - sibling's son (nephew)
            child's son (grandson)
            parent's sibling's son (male-cousin)
            parent's brother (uncle)

nift   - sibling's daughter (niece)
            child's daughter (granddaughter)
            parent's sibling's daughter (female-cousin)
            parent's sister (aunt)

With this new use of něvo and nift the older bifurcate-collateral terms
were not abandoned, but were retained as an alternate set with their applica-
tion modified in a way consonant with the other changes in the kinship termin-
ology; i.e., with an overriding of generations and, in particular, a reciprocity
between sibling's child and parent's sibling. Thus, the Middle High German
terms were used as follows:

vetere   - any male collateral relative on the paternal side other
            than brother

Oheim   - any male collateral relative on the maternal side other
            than brother

base   - any female collateral relative on the paternal side
            other than sister

muhme   - any female collateral relative on the maternal side
            other than sister

Hence, with the weakening of kinship obligations and ties associated
with the growth of feudal institutions the kinship nomenclature underwent a
process of change in which the terms were reinterpreted. The process was that
of merging terminologically relatives who were no longer distinguished in
social behavior. But this was done by a merging over generations rather than
between paternal and maternal sides. The effect was an achievement of verbal
economy where it was permitted by the cultural situation. The fact that it
was by overriding of generations would seem to be primarily because the change
took place in terms of the cultural context in which it occurred. That is,
both overriding of generations and the paternal-maternal distinction were al-
ready present. There was a retention of the latter distinction in one set of
terms, but there was no force for its extension to the other set. On the
other hand, the new social practices had the result of expanding the overriding
of generations for the terms to which it applied in Old High German and extend-
ing it to the terms to which it originally did not apply at all.

The resultant alternate sets of terms differ from each other in two
respects. First, only the něvo-nift set were applied to grandchildren. This
is apparently an instance of culture lag, since in Old High German they had
included this meaning and they simply continued to do so in the absence of

sufficient forces to the contrary. Second, only the other set of terms differ-
entiated between paternal and maternal sides. Again, culture lag seems a
possible explanation. Acculturative factors must be regarded as absent, since
a similar process has not been discovered in any of the neighboring non-Germanic
areas. Rather, the Middle High German terminology indicates that with the weak-
ening of kinship behavior as a significant part of social organization the
change is not necessarily to a lineal type of terminology. It can find expres-
sion in at least two different ways, or three, if one would view each set of
alternate Middle High German terms as a possibility in itself.

In the seventeenth century, at the beginning of the New High German
period, still another profound change took place in German kinship systems,
this time resulting in a lineal type of terminology. Again, all of the terms
were retained but redefined.

In late Old High German a new term, eninchilī, denoting child's child,
appeared. It is a diminutive of Old High German ano, "parent's father." Dur-
ing the Middle High German period the term eninkel or enenkel, "child's child,"
occurred, but the most frequently used terms for the children of children were
nĕvo and nift. In the sixteenth century Luther, the "father" of New High Ger-
man, seldom said enckel, "child's child," but mostly used either kindeskind,
which means literally "child's child," or neffe. The latter term he applied
to grandson, nephew, or male-cousin. Even in the time of Frischs (1741) neffe
was used with the modern exclusive meaning of "nephew" only in upper class
circles and was not commonly used in this restricted sense until late in the
eighteenth century when enkel, "grandson," and enkelin, "granddaughter," came
to be the most frequently used terms.

With the restriction in application of neffe and nicht there developed
a corresponding restriction in the use of the other terms. Overriding of gen-
erations and reciprocity disappeared and the terms were redefined as follows:

oheim - uncle (father's brother, mother's brother)

muhme - aunt (father's sister, mother's sister)

vetter - male-cousin (parent's sibling's son)

base   - female-cousin (parent's sibling's daughter)

The cultural process which led to the changes in the New High German
terminology appears to be French-German acculturation. The seventeenth cen-
tury was a period when French culture had a high prestige value and was con-
sciously borrowed on a large scale by the other European peoples, especially
in the Germanic area. With respect to kinship terms the seventeenth century
changes in the High German speaking area represent a redefinition of the old
terms according to the French practice. This is shown in the following table:

Meaning of term	French	German
uncle	oncle	oheim
aunt	tante	muhme
male-cousin	cousin	vetter
female-cousin	cousine	base
nephew	neveu	neffe
niece	nièce	nichte
grandson	petit-fils	enkel
granddaughter	petite-fille	enkelin

Why oheim and muhme should have been used in the parental generation and vetter and base in ego's generation is not at all clear. In Yiddish, which separated from the other High German dialects in the twelfth or thirteenth century, vetter is used to mean "uncle," and, though muhme, as in New High German, denotes aunt, male-cousin is called kuzin and female-cousin, kuzine.

Along with the reinterpretation of the old terms, the French terms themselves were borrowed. Thus in contemporary High German oheim and muhme are heard only dialectically and the most frequently used terms are onkel and tante. These were apparently borrowed in the seventeenth century, for they are found in the literature as early as 1703. Similarly, vetter and base were replaced by cousin and cousine.[9]

The usages of the Middle High German terms have left vestiges in some of the modern Germanic terms. Thus, in Westphalian Platt Deutsch (1860) the terms used were vedder, "male-cousin," and nichte, "female-cousin," and only literally descriptive terms such as brohrs soohn, "brother's son," were used for nephew and niece. In Dutch neef still means "male-cousin, nephew" and nichte, "female-cousin, niece." In Frisian neef means "male-cousin," and nichtje, "female cousin," with separate indigenous words for nephew and niece.

The evidence for kinship usages in Anglo-Saxon is unfortunately not as abundant as for Old High German. While it is clear that the terms were bifurcate-collateral in the parental generation, there is less certainty about the terms for other collateral relatives. It appears that nëfa denoted "nephew, grandson, male-cousin" and nift, "niece, granddaughter, female-cousin." In addition, however, there appear to have been alternate terms for sibling's children and children's children which literally described the relationship (e.g., sweostor sunu, "sister's son").

At the time when Old High German changed to Middle High German on the continent, Anglo-Saxon England was invaded by the French speaking Normans (1066 A.D.). This created in Great Britain an acculturative situation in which the indigenous Germanic culture and the immigrant Romance culture came to resemble each other more and more with the passage of time until there was created a new culture different from both yet partaking of each. The immediate effect on kinship terminology was a blend of the contemporary Germanic terminology common to both insular and continental areas with the French terminology of the invading Normans.

The terms for consanguineal relatives in the parental generation changed from bifurcate-collateral to the lineal type of the French, and the reciprocity and overriding of generations which existed contemporaneously in the areas speaking Middle High German did not affect these terms. The term eam, which in Anglo-Saxon denoted "mother's brother" was used in the sense of "uncle" (father's brother, mother's brother), and with this application it was heard as late as the nineteenth century in remote areas such as Northern England and Scotland (spelled eme in nineteenth century Scotch English). The term oncle was borrowed from the French with the French meaning of "uncle." Since the earliest recorded use of oncle in the English language was in a document dated approximately 1290 it is not possible to say definitely that it was adopted simultaneously with the change from the bifurcate-collateral type. English aunt, applied equally to mother's sister and father's sister, was borrowed from Old

French aunte or ante and was also in use in English by the thirteenth century.
We have not been able to demonstrate its adoption at the same time as the
change to a lineal system, although there is no evidence to the contrary.

In remote areas of Great Britain acculturative influences were much
weaker and the survival of archaic kinship practices is suggested by the use
in Scotch English between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries of an alter-
nate set of bifurcate-collateral terms, namely father-brother, mother-brother,
father-sister, and mother-sister.

In other aspects of the kinship system there were survivals of older
Anglo-Saxon usages. Thus, although the French term cousin, "male-cousin," was
borrowed from the French conquerors it was used in a way strongly reminiscent
of the Anglo-Saxon terms nëfa and nift and Old High German nëvo and nift; i.e.,
to denote, "a collateral relation more distant than a brother or sister; a
kinsman or kinswoman, a relative; formerly very frequently applied to a nephew
or niece" (Murray, cousin). The use of cousin to designate male or female
cousin and nephew or niece lasted as late as the nineteenth century. It is
interesting to note that in Middle English, from the fourteenth century to the
sixteenth, the term cousiness, "female-cousin," was used, especially in the
sixteenth century by Scottish writers. It is based on the French word cousin,
"male-cousin," plus the suffix -ess. This was apparently a response to the
felt need to distinguish cousins by sex, since all other relatives are thus
distinguished. It was never completely accepted, however, and by the nine-
teenth century it was heard only occasionally as a nonce-word.

Corresponding to the use of cousin, nephew denoted nephew and grandson
until the end of the seventeenth century and niece designated niece and grand-
daughter until circa 1600. This is cognate with Old French nies, "nephew,
grandson," and nièce, "niece, granddaughter." It is also cognate with Anglo-
Saxon nëfa-nift and Old High German nëvo-nift, with which it agrees largely in
meaning. The earliest recorded use of the term grandson is in a document dated
1586, a little over a century before the last recorded use, in 1699, of nephew
in the dual sense of nephew and grandson. The prefix grand- is a loan word
from French, but its usage is in contrast to the French use of petit- as a pre-
fix for descendant relatives and is parallel in its application to the German
use of gross- as a prefix for both ascendants and descendants. The German pre-
fix itself, however, is the result of French influence since its use in ascendant
generations is modeled after the French custom. In this case, however, the
French word was not borrowed but was translated.

Turning finally to the Scandinavian part of the Germanic area, we find
the terms of modern Iceland strikingly similar to the Middle High German ones.
Icelandic fraendi means "uncle, male-cousin, nephew" and fraenka, "aunt,
female-cousin, niece." Thus fraendi differs from Middle High German nëvo only
in that the latter was further extended to include grandson, and nift extended
beyond the application of fraenka to include granddaughter. In Icelandic
there is also an alternate bifurcate-collateral terminology which is used less
frequently. This contrasts with the Middle High German situation where the
alternate set of terms was not the bifurcate-collateral type. It appears that
the Icelandic terminology is the result of developments quite independent of
those occurring on the continent, and it would be rewarding to conduct more
intensive research into the history of the Icelandic terms and the associated
customs in order to discover the cause of the parallelism between these two
Germanic languages separated both in time and space.

In Sweden, Norway, and Denmark there is an unusually good example of acculturation. In Sweden there are bifurcate-collateral terms. This is not surprising since Swedish was independent of the continental Germanic languages before the Middle High German period when the bifurcate-collateral terminology of the other Germanic languages disappeared. The actual terms, however, are not the Old High German but are indigenous to Scandinavia. In Norway, on the other hand, Dano-Norwegian has only the lineal terms onkel and tante, which are clearly diffused from the continent. The process by which the change from the Swedish type to the Dano-Norwegian type took place is observable in modern Denmark where the terms are presently in a state of change and alternate terms appear. One type, bifurcate-collateral, is completely cognate with the Swedish terms. The other type is lineal and is derived from French via German. These are the terms onkel and tante, now the only ones used in Dano-Norwegian. In contemporary Denmark the choice between the two types is primarily one of family preference. In any one region some families will use one type of terminology and the rest will use the other type, with a notable tendency for urban centers to use the lineal terms more than do the rural districts. In this acculturative situation it appears that the change from the extended family to the conjugal family as the basic unit of social organization preceded the changes in terminology by a number of decades or even centuries. Indeed, in Sweden the changes have long since occurred in family structure and the change in terminology is yet to be manifested.

Acculturation seems to be the most significant factor in the post-medieval history of the Celtic branch. For Irish a bifurcate-collateral terminology is given in O'Reilly's dictionary and by Morgan (1870). O'Reilly does not give a word for aunt, only dobrunn, "uncle." The modern terms in County Kerry are unkail, "uncle," and aintin, "aunt." These are clearly words diffused from English. While there cannot be complete certainty at this stage of the investigation, it would appear that the lineal type came along with the English words. In Manx there are alternate terms for relatives in the parental generation, one set being bifurcate-collateral and the other, lineal. The latter are naim, "uncle," and naunt, "aunt." Again, there cannot be certainty, but naim looks very much like English eam, "uncle," and naunt was an English term for aunt in the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries and is still heard dialectically. In Manx, then, as in Irish, there is evidence of English acculturative influences. Modern Welsh is purely lineal, the terms being ewythr, "uncle," and modryb, "aunt." These terms were almost certainly originally part of a bifurcate-collateral terminology, for in Old Cornish, a dialect of Old Welsh, the term euiter meant "mother's brother," and modryb looks suggestively like Anglo-Saxon modrige, "mother's sister." Finally Breton, spoken in an outlying part of France, has a lineal system using the terms yount, "uncle" and zant, "aunt" (cf., Old French ante, "aunt").

The evidence is inadequate for a complete analysis of the changes in the Celtic languages and of the factors involved, but there is clear presumptive evidence of significant acculturation.

The clearest case of all for acculturative influences is in Dalmatia. Serbocroätian has a mixed type of terminology; that of Dalmatian-Serbian, only a minor dialectical variant of Serbocroätian, is lineal. The term for "aunt" is teta in both dialects. But in Dalmatian-Serbian, instead of the terms stric, "father's brother," and ujac, "mother's brother," the term barba, "uncle," is found. Barba is the Venetian-Italian term for uncle; its adoption

by the Dalmatians being part of the overall acculturation of Dalmatian to Italian culture during and after the medieval Kingdom of Venice. The striking feature is that the corresponding Venetian term for aunt did not diffuse. But, indeed, why should it when the Serbian term <u>teta</u> denoted the same relatives!

Affinal Terms and Whole Terminologies

The English terms for affinal relatives are <u>father-in-law</u> and <u>mother-in-law</u>, <u>brother-in-law</u> and <u>sister-in-law</u>, <u>son-in-law</u> and <u>daughter-in-law</u>, <u>husband</u> and <u>wife</u>. In addition there is the use of <u>uncle</u> and <u>aunt</u> for aunt's husband and uncle's wife respectively. All other affinal relatives are referred to by phrases which describe the relationship as, for example, "my cousin's wife" or "my wife's cousin." This terminology provides a convenient baseline from which to consider the other Indo-European practices.

An examination of the other Indo-European languages shows that <u>brother-in-law</u> and <u>sister-in-law</u> each merge three relationships which elsewhere are terminologically distinguished. In other words, instead of a single term there is a distinction of sister's husband, wife's brother, and husband's brother, on the one hand, and brother's wife, husband's sister, and wife's sister on the other. Similarly, there can be a distinction of wife's father and husband's father as well as of wife's mother and husband's mother. The terms <u>son-in-law</u> and <u>daughter-in-law</u> are used only for daughter's husband and son's wife respectively in English, but in the other languages daughter's husband is often merged with some other relative, most frequently with sister's husband, and the same is true of son's wife, who is most frequently merged with brother's wife. These differences are well illustrated by comparing the Russian terminology with the English.

English	Russian
father-in-law	svĕkor (HuFa)
	testb (WiFa)
mother-in-law	svekrovb (HuMo)
	tĕsča (WiMo)
brother-in-law	deverb (HuBr)
	šurin (WiBr)
son-in-law	zjat (SiHu, DaHu)
sister-in-law	zolovka (HuSi)
	svojačenitsa (WiSi)
daughter-in-law	nevestka (BrWi, SoWi)

Slavic branch.--The English and the Russian terms are associated with different forms of kinship behavior. In the Slavic area the extended patrilineal family is found, or was until relatively recent times. As has already been pointed out, this unit is associated with the practice of patrilocality and as a result the statuses and roles of affinal relatives differ from the English. The status of the husband's brother, who works with the bride's husband and shares his authority in the family, is quite different from that of the wife's brother, who is a member of a different household. The sister's

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husband is a member of still another family. The terminological distinction of these relatives reflects the differences in their statuses. The merging of brother's wife and son's wife in the term nevestka, which also means "bride" is also intelligible in these terms. In both cases the bride marries into the same strange household and from either standpoint she is in the position of a new, unproven member who has to bear male children to attain a higher status. Similarly, the sister's husband and the daughter's husband, merged in the term zjat, are both men who have taken away the young girls of the household.

Differences in status and role also illuminate the terminological distinction of husband's parents from wife's parents. To the husband, the father-in-law and the mother-in-law are people who live in a different household and have relatively little influence on his daily life. To the bride, on the contrary, the husband's father is the source of authority for all major activities in the life of the family in which she now lives and the husband's mother is the woman who both competes with her for the affections of her son and is her task-mistress in the assignment and supervision of the hard work of running the household.

By contrast, the English terms are associated with nuclear family organization. The residential unit is limited to the parents and their unmarried children. At marriage the children of both sexes marry out of the household to found their own families. Property is individually owned and is inherited primarily only by direct descendants. As a result, the relatives of one's spouse, all of whom are at a distance spatially, occupy statuses which are distinguished by their relative unimportance. This uniformity in status is expressed terminologically in the merging of these relatives in a way which recognizes only differences of sex and generation.

The Russian type of affinal nomenclature is found in several of the Slavic languages, including Serbocroätian and Bulgarian. It also appears to have been the type of Old Slavic although it cannot be definitely stated that daughter's husband and sister's husband were merged in the term zętĭ, or son's wife and brother's wife in the term snûcha. It appears to have been the type used in all of the Slavic languages at the time when Old Slavic was spoken, as early as 1,000 years ago. Thus, although modern Czech, Polish, and Dalmatian-Serbian have affinal terms which classify in exactly the same way as English, it is found that the terms used are to a certain extent the old terms redefined. This is illustrated in the following table.

English	Czech	Polish	Dalmatian-Serbian
father-in-law	tchán	teść	sekar
mother-in-law	tchyně	tesciowa	sekrva
brother-in-law	švagr	szwagier	kunjad
sister-in-law	švagrová	szwagiérka	kunjada
son-in-law	zet'	ziec	zet
daughter-in-law	nevěsta	synowa	nevesta

In Czech and Polish the terms for wife's mother and father became the terms for "mother-in-law" and "father-in-law" in general, while in Dalmatian-

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Serbian the terms for husband's mother and father were the ones to be retained
with the new, broader meaning. In all three (with the exception of Polish
synowa, which means literally "belonging to the son" (i.e., son's wife) the
terms for son-in-law and daughter-in-law were retained with the loss of exten-
sion to sibling's spouse. The sibling's spouse became merged into the general
brother-in-law and sister-in-law terms. The latter terms are associated with
the borrowing of the German terms for these relatives in Czechoslovakia and
Poland and with the Italian terms in Dalmatia.

The question now arises as to the cultural processes which led to the
changes in these Slavic systems. They are clearly related in some degree to
the changes that have taken place in other West European areas and to that ex-
tent are due to acculturation. In a more specific sense, the Czech and Polish
systems appear to be the result largely of recent acculturation to the Germanic
and the Dalmatian-Serbian to the Italian nomenclatures. This is borne out
strikingly in a comparison of the total terminology of Dalmatian-Serbian with
Serbocroätian, of which it is only a dialect, and with the Italian, the lan-
guage of the medieval Kingdom of Venice, of which Dalmatia was a part.

Italian	Dalmatian-Serbian	Serbocroätian
barba (Un)	barba (Un)	stric (FaBr) ujac (MoBr)
zia (Au)	teta (Au)	teta (Au)
nepote (Ne, GrSo)	unuk (Ne, GrSo)	unuk (GrSo) necak (Ne)
nepote (Ni, GrDa)	unuka (Ni, GrDa)	unuka (GrDa) necakinja (Ni)
nono (GrFa)	nono (GrFa)	deda (GrFa)
nona (GrMo)	nona (GrMo)	baba (GrMo)
cugino (Cm)	rodak (Cm)	bratuced (Cm)
cugina (Cf)	rodica (Cf)	bratanitsa (Cf)
suocero (SpFa)	sekar (SpFa)	svekar (HuFa) tast (WiFa)
suocera (SpMo)	sekrva (SpMo)	svekrva (HuMo) tasta (WiMo)
cognato (Br-in-law)	kunjad (Br-in-law)	djever (HuBr) sura (WiBr)
cognata (Si-in-law)	kunjada (Si-in-law)	zaova (HuSi) surnjaja (WiSi)
genero (DaHu)	zet (DaHu)	zet (DaHu, SiHu)
nuora (SoWi)	nevesta (SoWi)	nevesta (SoWi, BrWi)
barba (AuHu)	barba (AuHu)	tetak (AuHu)
zia (UnWi)	teta (UnWi)	strina (FaBrWi) ujna (MoBrWi)

Dalmatian-Serbian thus classifies relatives in exactly the same way as Italian, thereby differing in most of the system from Serbocroatian proper, though the two Slavic dialects are mutually intelligible and, of course, unintelligible to Italians. This change is clearly due to acculturation to Italian resulting from the former hegemony of Italy in Dalmatia.

Strikingly variable was the method of acculturation. Thus, the merging of father's brother and mother's brother took place by the borrowing of Italian barba and the dropping of Serbocroatian stric and ujac, which distinguish the two types of relative. The term for aunt, however, was not borrowed from Italian. Instead, Serbocroatian teta was retained, but, here, of course, there was no difference between the Serbian and Italian classification of relatives. A different process was involved in the classification of sibling's children and children's children, where Italian differs from Serbian in that it merges grandson and nephew, granddaughter and niece in the term nepote.[10] The Dalmatians retained the Serbian terms for grandson, unuk, and granddaughter, unuka, but redefined them to conform to nepote, Serbian necak, "nephew," and necakinja, "niece," being dropped. There is no difference in the classification of cousins and grandparents. Notable here is the fact that the Italian terms diffused and replaced the Serbian ones, though no change in classification was involved. As already noted, Dalmatian sekar, which in Serbian means "husband's father," has been redefined to mean "father-in-law," corresponding to Italian suocero, whereas Serbian tast, "wife's father," has been dropped. The same was done for the female equivalents. This process is similar to the redefinition of unuk and the dropping of necak. Dalmatian-Serbian differs from Serbian in that it has a single term for "brother-in-law" and another for "sister-in-law." Here, as in the case of the terms for uncle, the change in classification is associated with the borrowing of the word itself, Dalmatian kunjad, "brother-in-law," is from Italian cognato, replacing djever, sura, and zet for husband's brother, wife's brother, and sister's husband respectively. This change left Dalmatian-Serbian zet and nevesta as part of the language, but with a meaning different from the Serbian and identical with Italian genero, "daughter's husband," and nuora, "son's wife." Finally, the extension of the terms for uncle and aunt to the spouses of these relatives is found in both Italian and Dalmatian-Serbian but is absent in Serbian.

What does this great acculturation to Italian indicate with respect to the social practices that are supposedly associated with the two different systems of nomenclature? A preliminary study indicates no significant differences between Italy and Dalmatia in kinship behavior. Serbocroatia itself, although until recently the home of the zadruga, the patrilineal extended family, no longer differs notably from Italy. Thus, the changes in Dalmatia are less startling than the conservatism of Serbocroatia.

A comparison of the whole terminologies of Czech, Slovak, and Polish with German also indicates the extent and nature of acculturative influences in kinship terminologies. Just as Dalmatian-Serbian classifies relatives exactly as does Italian, Czech classifies exactly as does German. The more conservative Slovak, however, has also undergone some changes. Polish, linguistically relatively close to Czech and Slovak, appears to have undergone separate but similar changes as the result of contact with German.

German	Czech	Slovak
onkel (Un)	strýc (Un)	stryc (FaBr) ujec (MoBr)
tante (Au)	teta (Au)	tetka (Au)
neffe (Ne)	synovec (Ne)	---
nichte (Ni)	neter (Ni)	neter (Ni)
cousin (Cm)	bratránek (Cm)	sestrenec (Cm)
cousine (Cf)	sestrenka (Cf)	sestrenica (Cf)
enkel (GrSo)	vnuk (GrSo)	wnuk (GrSo)
enkelin (GrDa)	vnucka (GrDa)	wnucka (GrDa)
schwiegervater (Fa-in-law)	tchán (Fa-in-law)	svokr (HuFa) test' (WiFa)
schwiegermutter (Mo-in-law)	tchyne (Mo-in-law)	svokra (HuMo) testina (WiMo)
schwager (Br-in-law)	svagr (Br-in-law)	swat (SiHu, WiBr) dever (HuBr)
schwägerin (Si-in-law)	svagrová (Si-in-law)	zolvica (HuSi) swatine (BrWi, WiSi)
schwiegersohn (DaHu)	zet' (DaHu)	zet (DaHu)
schwiegertochter (SoWi)	nevesta (SoWi)	nevesta (SoWi)
onkel (AuHu)	strýc (AuHu)	stric (FaSiHu) ujec (MoSiHu)
tante (UnWi)	teta (UnWi)	stryna (FaBrWi) tetka (MoBrWi)

Examining first the terms for consanguineal relatives we find that
Czech merges father's brother and mother's brother, not by borrowing a new
term, as in Dalmatian-Serbian, but by redefining strýc to mean "uncle" instead
of just "father's brother," as it does in Slovak. Czech and Slovak already
had a term for "aunt" and thus were already identical with German in that re-
spect. In Slovak there are alternate terms for the children of one's siblings.
That is, there are terms for "brother's son," "sister's son," "brother's daugh-
ter," and "sister's daughter." This was also formerly true of Czech, but they
are obsolete. Modern speakers of Czech use only the terms synovec, "nephew,"
and neter, "niece." Since Old Slavic had the terms netii, "nephew," and
nestera, "niece," there was possibly a long period when there were alternate
terms, and the recent change may have extended only to the dropping of the al-
ternate terms which differ from the German in range. It should be noted, how-
ever, that the Germanic languages also formerly had a dual terminology with
terms or compound terms which also distinguished between brother's child and
sister's child. In contrast to the existence of alternate terms for nephew
and niece in Slovak and formerly in Czech, Polish has no terms for "nephew" or

"niece" but only the terms bratanek, "brother's son"; siostrzeniec, "sister's son"; bratanica, "brother's daughter"; and siostrzenica, "sister's daughter."

Polish, Czech, and Slovak all now have terms meaning "male-cousin" and "female-cousin," derived from either French or German. According to some of my respondents for Polish, a terminology distinguishing between the various types of cousin on the basis of the terms used for intervening relatives is still in vogue for rural areas, although its use is waning even there.

In both modern High German and the modern Slavic languages there are terms meaning "grandson" and "granddaughter."

Acculturative influences are more clearly discernible in the terms for affinal relatives. Here both Czech and Polish retained the terms which formerly meant "wife's father" and "wife's mother" but redefined them to mean more broadly "father-in-law" and "mother-in-law," as do the corresponding German terms. This is the same process as in Dalmatia except that there the terms for husband's parents were retained. Slovakia, on the other hand, has kept the more complicated terminology.

Both Czech and Polish have terms for "brother-in-law" and "sister-in-law." In this case the change from the former system was accompanied by the diffusion of the words themselves, which are clearly derived from German schwager. As in Dalmatia, where the corresponding process took place, the result was a retention of the Old Slavic words for son-in-law and daughter-in-law but with the exclusive meaning of daughter's husband and son's wife. This is the meaning of the corresponding words used in German in contrast to the former Slavic custom of merging daughter's husband with sister's husband and son's wife with brother's wife. In Slovak this change was not complete, so that though now there is a merging of brother's wife and wife's sister in the term swatine, and of sister's husband and wife's brother in the word swat, the terms dever, "husband's brother," and zolvica, "husband's sister," are also used. In this instance there has been no borrowing of terms, since the word swat is an Old Slavic word used between husband's father and wife's father.

Finally, the Czech terms for the spouses of parents' siblings are used exactly as their German equivalents; i.e., the terms for "uncle" and "aunt" are also applied to the spouses of uncle and aunt. In Slovakia and Poland different systems occur.

The Russian terms for blood kin classify them in the same way as do German, English, and French. In this case we must assume that acculturation operated even though the terms are all Slavic in origin. Notable in Russian, however, is the fact that the terms which classify differently from the older Slavic forms were in many cases developed indigenously. Thus, djadja, "uncle" is apparently a word constructed on the old word for grandfather, ded (cf. Latin avus, grandfather, avunculus, mother's brother). Similarly, the words plemjannik, "nephew," and plemjannitsa, "niece," as well as dvourodnii brat, "male cousin," and dvourodnaja sestra, "female-cousin," appear to have been locally developed to replace the older words which classified relatives in different ways. These changes, however, all took place some time ago and their history remains to be worked out. The Russian terms for affinal relatives, on the other hand, are in the process of change right now. Thus, the terms (page 22) which distinguish husband's father from wife's father and

husband's brother from wife's brother and merge sister's husband with daughter's husband are used only in conservative, generally peasant areas. Most urbanized Russians cannot define them if they hear them, although a few still even use them. This change is taking place in two ways. First, the old terms persist, but with a new usage. Thus, some informants applied deverb to "brother-in-law" rather than just to husband's brother, and nevestka to "sister-in-law" rather than only to "son's wife, brother's wife." People using the terms in this new way also tended to continue to distinguish between husband's parents and wife's parents. So far as our limited survey could determine, the people making changes in this way are from the laboring class.

Second, some of the more sophisticated, urbanized people dropped the Russian terms entirely, substituting the French terms beau-père, belle-mère, beau-frère, and belle-soeur with the French meanings.

Romance branch.--All of the modern Romance languages have a system of affinal terms which is exactly the same as the English. Classical Latin, however, differed from its modern derivatives in lacking a term for "brother-in-law" or "sister-in-law." Instead it distinguished between spouse's sibling and sibling's spouse, and possibly also between wife's sibling and husband's sibling. The Latin terms are given in the following table.

Latin Terms of Affinity			
levir	- HuBr	glos	- HuSi
cognatus ?	- WiBr	?	- WiSi
sororius	- SiHu	fratria	- BrWi
gener	- DaHu	nurus	- SoWi

In Vulgar Latin, before the differentiation of the modern Romance languages into a state of mutual unintelligibility, the term cognatus came to be used to mean "brother-in-law" as in the modern Romance languages. Like their Slavic equivalents, the earlier Latin affinal terms were associated with the patrilineal extended family. In the later period this type of household presumably broke down as a result of growing individualism associated with commercialism and imperialism. It would be worth further investigation to determine the extent to which this type of family organization was revived in the Romance countries after the decline of the Roman Empire, for neither the older affinal terms nor the older bifurcate-collateral consanguineal terms redeveloped during that period. There is no Latin evidence of a distinction between the two kinds of parent-in-law; if it was ever made, it had disappeared before written records.

The Vulgar Latin terms for relatives by marriage have survived in all of the Romance languages except French and Rhaetian. In Rhaetian nurus has been replaced by brit, "son's wife." The French changes will be described below.

Germanic branch.--The classification of affinal relatives has been the same as in modern English in all of the contemporary Germanic languages. It was also true of the ancient members of the branch insofar as there are data, with the single exception of the Old High German use of swëhur to mean "husband's brother" as well as "father-in-law." This terminological usage occurred

in spite of the fact that in certain parts of the Germanic area, at least, marriage, property, and descent were once much as they are among the Balkan Slavs. In the more remote districts of Norway and Sweden as well as in parts of the Alpine area the extended family was the economic unit until recent decades.

Although the classification has not changed in over a thousand years, the words themselves have. In most cases the original terms have been replaced by terms based on the words for members of the nuclear family. A comparison of English, Dutch, Old High German, High German, and French is instructive.

Old High German	High German	Dutch	French	English
swëhur	schwiegervater	schoonvader	beau-père	father-in-law
swigar	schwiegermutter	schoonmoeder	belle-mère	mother-in-law
swāgur	schwager	zwager	beau-frère	brother-in-law
geswîa	schwägerin	schoonzuster	belle-soeur	sister-in-law
eidum	schwiegersohn	schoonzoon	beau-fils	son-in-law
snur(a)	schwiegertochter	schoondochter	belle-fille	daughter-in-law

The only social phenomenon that can be associated with this change is the introduction of Christianity, which appears to have influenced the terminology through its marriage prohibitions. Thus, the English terms mean that these relatives regarded as brother or sister, son or daughter, mother or father, in the eyes of canon (i.e., church) law in that they were within the prohibited range of marriage regulations. These changes in affinal terminology are strikingly absent in non-Christian Yiddish-German where the Old High German terms are still used. An acculturative influence was strong, for while the terms are different there is a similarity in the way in which they developed, which can best be interpreted as the result of mutual interaction. For example, the French terms have prefixes which mean literally "pretty" or "handsome." The High German terms are prefixed by morphemes which mean "affinal." In Dutch, however, the prefix has the same meaning as in French; i.e., "pretty, handsome."

This does not explain, of course, the retention of the old term for brother-in-law and sister-in-law in High German. It does indicate, on the other hand, that there is more to the use of a terminology than simply the way in which it merges relatives. The words appear to bear attitude or value connotations which have significance for the speakers, and changing terms may reflect changes in status and role that have occurred without any changes in the way kin are grouped.

Celtic branch.--Turning to the Celtic languages, Irish changed from a bifurcate-collateral terminology to a lineal by borrowing the English terms, but otherwise developed independently. This is seen in its affinal terminology, which is of a type unrelated to the non-Celtic system. Wife's brother and husband's brother are called drithear-ceile, literally "brother by affinity," but sister's husband is distinguished from spouse's brother and merged with daughter's husband in the term cliamhuin. Thus a terminological distinction is made between the brother of a spouse and the spouse of a female member

of the immediate family (i.e., daughter or sister). Similarly, but not identically, the husband's sister and the wife's sister are called drifiur-ceile and are distinguished from the brother's wife, bean drithear. But the latter is also distinguished from the son's wife, who is called bean-mic.

It is difficult to relate these terminological traits to social practices. Marriage is patrilocal and the eldest son's wife often lives in a household where her husband's father and brothers are part of the farm economy. Unlike the Balkans, however, authority generally stems from a single male only, most frequently from the bride's husband, since marriage usually does not take place until the time when the farm is inherited from the still-living father by the eldest son. Hence, both the husband's father and the husband's brother, if he stays on the farm, are subordinate to the bride's husband. Indeed, if the husband's brother marries he almost always leaves the farm to find work elsewhere. Frequently he remains unmarried and subordinate to his elder brother. Thus, the influences towards a distinction of husband's brother from sister's husband are not found in marriage, family, or property practices. In Alpine Austria and Bavaria, too, the father turns over the estate to a son and retires to a reserved set of rooms and other minor property (Lowie, 1954:154), and in this case the association is with affinal terms of the English type (i.e., the standard German terms). Indeed, the English-speaking Irish also have these customs! In both Ireland and parts of the Alps the young bride is under the authority of her husband's mother. This authority is frequently as strong and as demanding as in the Balkans, but there is no corresponding terminological distinction of husband's mother from wife's mother, as in the Slavic terminologies. The distinctions which do exist in the Irish terminology are perhaps related to concepts of descent and the duties of kin to help each other. Thus, a husband and wife are united in marriage so that one's sibling is a "kind of" sibling to one's spouse and is thus a different type of relative from the spouse of one's sibling or child.

In Manx there are separate terms for daughter's husband, husband's brother, wife's brother, and sister's husband, with a similar set of separate terms for the equivalent female relatives. These terms are probably retained from a time when these people lived in extended families. Their survival may have been helped by a linguistic factor, since the terms are simply literal two-word descriptions of the nature of the relationship.

The Welsh terms are clearly the result of English acculturation, for the terms are simply translations into Welsh of the English "in-law" terms.

Breton terms, which classify in the same way as Welsh, English, and French, are due to French influence since they are translations into Breton of the French "-beau, -belle" terms.

Baltic branch.--The Lithuanian terminology was exactly like its Slavic neighbors' in 1744 and 1860 in that it distinguished husband's parents from wife's parents, distinguished the three types of brother-in-law and the three types of sister-in-law, but merged brother's wife with son's wife and sister's husband with daughter's husband. Modern Lithuanian, however, changed its terminology by distinguishing brother's wife from son's wife and sister's husband from daughter's husband, whence separate terms for each of the following relatives: husband's father, wife's father, daughter's husband, husband's brother, wife's brother and sister's husband, and similarly for female affinal relatives.

Modern Lettish has exactly the same type of classification as modern Lithuanian. The terms for members of the nuclear family are compounded to form literal two-word descriptions of the other relationships. There are, unfortunately, not enough data to permit the delineation of the cultural processes at work in this region.

Greek branch.--In Ancient Greek, husband's parents are distinguished from wife's parents. While there is a term, daer, "husband's brother," the term gambros merges wife's brother, sister's husband, and daughter's husband. On the female side, husband's sister and brother's wife are merged in the term galos, but son's wife is distinguished by the term nuos, and wife's sister is called aelios. These terms are consistent with extended patrilineal family organization, for while all relatives called gambros live in other households, the husband's brother does not, hence he plays a very important, unique role. On the female side, however, the distinction of son's wife (nuos) from husband's sister and brother's wife (both called galos) must be due to emphasis on the difference in generation. In the Balkans the new, young bride commonly not only gets all of the dirty work, but also is not fully accepted as a member of the household until she has borne male children and is replaced for the most menial tasks by yet a younger bride; hence a terminological distinction may result from a difference in status and role. The wife's sister differs from other female affinals in that she lives in a different household.

In Modern Greek, sibling's spouse is merged with child's spouse and distinguished from spouse's sibling. The merging of husband's brother with wife's brother is inconsistent with the existence of the extended family, however the extended family is no longer the most common form of family organization in Greece. The striking similarity to Irish practice in the way those terms classify relatives should be noted.

Indic branch.--In Sanskrit and the modern Indic languages there are separate terms for husband's brother, wife's brother, sister's husband, and daughter's husband with a similar set of separate terms for the female equivalents. A terminological distinction of husband's parents from wife's parents does not occur. This type of terminology is associated with extended family organization.

Albanian branch.--The Albanese classification of affinal relatives is the same as English, in spite of its association with sib and extended family organization and the levirate. The use of a term meaning "'brother-in-law'" is apparently the result of Italian influence, since the word is an obvious Italian loan word (North Albanian konati from Italian cognato). This diffusion has apparently taken place within the last five hundred years, since Sicilian-Albanese lacks the Italian words.

Iranian branch.--The Pushtu, Kurdish, and Kuzulbashi-Kurdish terms (the latter collected by Morgan in 1860), like the Indic, are generally literal descriptions of the relationships. Notable, however, is the merging of sister's husband with wife's brother in Pushtu, but with daughter's husband in Kurdish.

Armenian branch.--Armenian, too, uses literally descriptive terms. There is no merging except that hars means son's wife and father's brother's wife and kerair means sister's husband, father's sister's husband, and mother's

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sister's husband. These terms appear to have a general meaning of "bride" and "bridegroom."

<center>* * * * *</center>

In view of the strong influence of acculturation in the Indo-European speaking area one is struck by its absence in some instances. Rumania is a Romance enclave in the Slavic culture area. The Rumanian language borrowed many Slavic words including some kinship terms. Yet relatives are classified exactly as in Italian (cf. endnote 10), even though there has been no contact with Italy for at least seven hundred years. Conversely, the Rumanian classification differs considerably from that of its Slavic neighbors.

Italian	Rumanian
zio (Un)	unchiu (Un)
zia (Au)	matuşa (Au)
nepote (Ne, GrSo)	nepot (Ne, GrSo)
nepote (Ni, GrDa)	nepoata (Ni, GrDa)
avo (GrFa)	bunic (GrFa)
ava (GrMo)	bunica (GrMo)
cugino (Cm)	var (Cm)
cugina (Cf)	vara (Cf)
suocero (SpFa)	socru (SpFa)
suocera (SpMo)	soacra (SpMo)
cognato (Br-in-law)	cumnat (Br-in-law)
cognata (Si-in-law)	cumnata (Si-in-law)
genero (DaHu)	ginere (DaHu)
nuora (SoWi)	mora (SoWi)

In a similar manner, Yiddish-speaking Jews in the Slavic area have terms which classify exactly as do the modern High German terms.[11] Although some Slavic and Hebrew terms have been borrowed they have not affected the pattern of classification. For a comparison of High German and Yiddish terms, see opposite page.

The Sephardic Jews have a terminology which classifies exactly on the Spanish plan. The Italian-, Greek-, and English-speaking areas in which they settled, however, also have classifications like the Spanish, except for the Greek affinal terms. Yet the Yiddish speakers separated from the Germanic area some seven hundred years ago and the Sephardic Jews left Spain over 450 years ago. In contrast, the Jews of the Near East speak Arabic and use the terminological system of the Arabs. (Also, the literary Hebrew terms yield essentially the same kinship classification as Arabic.) Indeed, contemporary Jews generally speak the language of the area in which they live and use the kinship terms of that language; for example, English-speaking Jews use the English kinship terms without modification. This leads one to the conclusion

<center></center>

High German	Yiddish
onkel (Un)	vetter (Un)
tante (Au)	muhme (Au)
neffe (Ne)	plimyenik (Ne)
nichte (Ni)	plimyenitse (Ni)
cousin (Cm)	kuzin (Cm)
cousine (Cf)	kuzina (Cf)
enkel (GrSo)	enekel (GrSo)
enkelin (GrDa)	enekel (GrDa)
grossvater (GrFa)	zeder (GrFa)
grossmutter (GrMo)	bauber (GrMo)
schwiegervater (Fa-in-law)	schwär (Fa-in-law)
schwiegermutter (Mo-in-law)	schwieger (Mo-in-law)
schwager (Br-in-law)	schwager (Br-in-law)
schwägerin (Si-in-law)	schwägerin (Si-in-law)
schwiegersohn (DaHu)	eidem (DaHu)
schwiegertochter (SoWi)	schnur (SoWi)

that Jewish social organization does not ordinarily differ significantly from that of the country in which they live. The medieval Jews who were forced to emigrate from Spain and Germany, however, did not adopt the language of the new host nations. In these cases they were not integrated into the society of their neighbors but existed as a cultural enclave in a state of social and cultural symbiosis. They retained not only the language of the older host nation, but also the kinship type. Hence it would appear that the special traits of the Jews speaking Yiddish and Sephardic-Spanish are not simply elaborations of Jewish culture, but are special adaptive traits resulting from their position as a foreign group which has never been assimilated. It is possible that their conservative practices are actually survivals of twelfth and thirteenth century German culture or fifteenth century Spanish culture.

Conclusion

The types of kinship terminology here discussed appear to be associated fairly consistently with certain forms of social organization. Among the societies speaking Indo-European languages, bifurcate-collateral, mixed, and oldest Sanskrit types of nomenclature are almost always associated with a form of social organization in which the basic unit is the patrilineal extended family. The lineal type of kinship terminology is strongly correlated with the existence of the conjugal family as the fundamental social unit. These

familial associations exert an influence on terminology through institutions associated with them--rules of property ownership and inheritance, ways of tracing descent, practices of prohibited or preferred marriage, and customs of residence. Of these practices, customs relating to property and residence appear to exert the greatest influence on kinship terms. This is undoubtedly because these two practices find direct expression in the spatial alignment of relatives, and propinquity or its absence are, of course, exceedingly important factors in determining the nature of social relations.

The customs which affect kinship nomenclature show a very strong tendency to be functionally integrated with one another. Among most of the cultures studied, rules of property ownership and transmission, reckoning of descent, marriage, and residence all tend to act as influences in the same direction with respect to the sociological classification of kin. Nevertheless, some cases occur in which this functional integration is incomplete. In such instances, the social practices do not constitute influences in a single direction toward the definition of kinship terms, and the terms may be congruent with only certain presumably determining elements of culture. For example, in Armenia residence is patrilocal, which constitutes an influence toward a terminological bifurcation of collateral relatives, but property is individually owned and subject to testamentary disposition, and thus represents an influence toward a terminological lumping of collaterals. The terms in this case are bifurcate-collateral and reflect the former but not the latter practice. Multiple factors appear to be involved, and the correlation is not necessarily one-to-one with respect to single or individual customs.

The correlation with respect to forms of social organization is also not always in a simple one-to-one relationship. Not only are the bifurcate-collateral and mixed types both associated with patrilineal extended families, they are also both associated with sibs. A given social institution, then, may be associated with more than one of our types of terminology, and a given terminology, with more than one kind of institution. We may repeat, however, that three of our types are consistently associated with the patrilineal extended family and one type, the lineal, is equally consistently associated with the conjugal family. Following our thesis that kinship terminology is primarily determined by other cultural factors, one is led to inquire whether the three categories of systems of kin terms do not share some common feature. The answer is affirmative: paternal and maternal relatives are partially or completely distinguished in each of these three types.

Where correlation between nomenclature and type of family organization seemed imperfect, we have assumed that other cultural factors enter and have suggested the following:

(1) When there is a discrepancy between de jur and de facto institutions the terms may reflect one and not the other.

(2) The terms may represent instances of culture lag, reflecting social traditions of a by-gone period.

(3) More than one of our types of terminology may be functionally consistent with a single type of social organization.

(4) Non-social influences (i.e., linguistic factors) may be operative.

Our investigation has also revealed abundant evidence of transition from one type of kinship terminology to another. The consistent trend has been toward the lineal from any of the other four types. The development of a lineal type of terminology among peoples speaking languages of the six branches of the Indo-European stock was found to be associated with other social changes. The changes in terms appear to have been directly influenced by changes in social practices connected with the displacement of the extended family by the conjugal family as the fundamental unit of social organization. Changes in the form of the family appear, in turn, to be the result of economic, technological, and political developments; that is, the change to lineal terms may be regarded as an indirect result of phenomena such as urbanization, commercialism, colonialism, and industrialism.

Changes in kinship terms may be entirely an indigenous response to changes in social organization and be relatively independent of cultures with which there is contact. Such may well have been true of the changes in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit. It was undoubtedly so in Middle High German. Most changes in the areas studied, however, occurred in an acculturational context and cannot be adequately described outside of this context. Of course, territorial contiguity in itself is not necessarily sufficient stimulus for acculturation. The Yiddish, Sephardic-Spanish, and Rumanian patterns of kinship have survived unchanged in areas where they are surrounded by cultures with other systems of terms.

Two types of acculturation may be defined with respect to changes in kinship terms among societies of Indo-European linguistic affiliation:

(1) A donor-recipient relationship often exists in which the majority of the borrowing is done by one culture. Examples of this type would be the acculturation of Polish to German, Dalmatian-Serbian to Italian, Breton to French, and German to French.

(2) Acculturative influences are simultaneously in both directions. The only European example of this type is in the meeting of Anglo-Saxon and Norman-French culture in Great Britain.

In this case the resultant Old English and Middle English terminologies differed from those of either of the pre-contact cultures. It occurred in a situation in which contact was much more intimate than that of mere territorial contiguity, and represents the blending of cultures through an amalgamation of the societies. Yet, this kind of social situation does not necessarily lead to the type of acculturation described. It did not occur, for example, when the Italians settled in Dalmatia, when the Austro-Hungarians established hegemony over Croatia, and when the French infiltrated Brittany. The more common result of such intimate association appears to be that one culture overwhelms the other, rather than that each retains enough cultural stability to be a donor and yet enough cultural plasticity to be a recipient.

Contact in Europe has, of course, not been limited to a single pair of cultures. More commonly a given culture has been exposed to influences from several directions, resulting in three kinds of acculturative situations:

(1) The effect of several cultures acting as donors with respect to a common receiving culture has often been in a single direction because the donor cultures, although differing in some respects, had already undergone mutual acculturation and therefore had similar kinship organization. The

French and German influences on Danish, for example, have both been toward a lineal nomenclature.

(2) It may also happen that different types of nomenclature exist among cultures with which there is contact and acculturative influences need not be towards a single type. For example, Denmark is in contact with several cultures in the south having lineal terms and with Swedish culture in the north which has bifurcate-collateral terms. The co-existence of both lineal and bifurcate-collateral terms in Denmark may be partly due to this contact situation.

(3) In other cases where contact is with several cultures having several different types of nomenclature, borrowing has not taken place between all of the groups. Thus, Swedish kinship has been influenced by cultures to the south but not by the cultures of the Finns or the Lapps to the north.

The change to lineal terms is associated with changes in family organization, and this latter change may be a response to acculturative influences. The terms of the Romance languages (French, Spanish, Sephardic-Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Rhaetian, and Rumanian) appear to be the result of a common cultural inheritance from Rome. Vulgar Latin terms were apparently primarily the result of indigenous changes in response to changed familial organization (itself the result of broad changes in economics, technology, and social organization). The English and German terms, however, derive from the strong impact of French culture in the eleventh and seventeenth centuries, respectively. Lineal terminology in Irish, Manx, and Welsh appear to be due to English contacts, and changes in Breton the consequence of acculturation with French culture. (Changes in Welsh and Breton, which are closely related languages, were seemingly independent of each other and related only to the extent that the French and English types were themselves the result of diffusion.) Modern Basque terminology appears to be the result of French influence. Danish and Dano-Norwegian terms are Germanized versions of the French terms. The lineal system of Russia is presumably a response to acculturative influences from the French and/or the Germans. Czech terminology probably resulted from acculturative contact with Germany; the Dalmatian-Serbian from contact with Italy, and the Slovenian from contact with the German-speaking populace of Austro-Hungary. The Hungarians are the only Finno-Ugrian speaking peoples with a lineal terminology, which is probably the result of political union with German-speaking Austria. The provenience of the lineal terminology in Greece is unknown and might, as in Rome, be largely indigenous. It is also possible, however, that Greek kinship customs influenced the Roman world, as the Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese terms are cognate with Greek, as shown below:

Language	Uncle	Aunt
Ancient Greek	theios	tethís
Modern Greek	theios	theia
Italian	zio	zia
Spanish	tio	tia
Portuguese	tio	tia

The nature and extent of acculturative influences upon kinship terminologies is variable. The following kinds of effects have been documented.

(1) Changes in the recipient culture resulted in a pattern virtually identical with that of the donor. For example, Dalmatian-Serbian changed to the Italian system and Czech, to the German.

(2) Changes occurred in only part of the terminology. For example, in Russian the terms for consanguineal relatives classify exactly as do those of French and German, but the terms for affinal relatives are only now in the process of change and in some areas are still those of Old Slavic rather than of German or French. In Polish, on the other hand, the consanguineal terms have not changed but the affinal terms are of the German system.

(3) The change in the way a given term classifies may be only partly in the direction of the classification used by the donor culture. Thus, the Slovakian terms for affinal relatives differ from the Old Slavic terms and appear to be the result of a partial change in the direction of the Czech and German systems.

(4) The result of acculturation may be the use of alternate terms. For example, Danish has lineal terms borrowed from French and German but also retains the old bifurcate-collateral terms (the retention of the latter perhaps due in part to Swedish influence).

(5) The result of acculturation may be a new type of terminology representing a hybridization of the contacting cultures and differing from the original forms of each of the societies involved. This is illustrated by the Old English and Middle English terms resulting from the meeting of Anglo-Saxon and Norman-French cultures.

(6) Borrowing of terms may occur in which no change in classification is involved. Foreign terms are simply substituted for their native equivalents and no change occurs in the categories of relatives to whom they apply. It is seen in Rumanian, which has adopted some Slavic kinship terms which do not differ in their manner of classifying relatives so that the kinship system of the Rumanians and their Slavic neighbors remain different from each other. Many other examples of this kind of diffusion may be cited.

(7) A kinship term may be borrowed but redefined to classify in a way identical with the native term of the recipient and different from that of the donor. This may have been true for Morgan's Kuzulbashi-Kurdish. It represents no more than a case of diffusion of a linguistic term and can only in the broadest sense be regarded as acculturation.

(8) Native terms may be retained but redefined to classify relatives as in the donor culture. This possibility was realized in the changes that occurred in Czech and Dalmatian-Serbian.

(9) A foreign term may be adopted and also its classificatory usage. This was also seen in the Czech and Dalmatian-Serbian cases.

Changes in kinship terms which come about under conditions of acculturation must not be regarded as isolated phenomena changing independently of other factors. They are associated with changes in kinship institutions as well as with changes in overall social organization. Two different sets of circumstances appear to have applied with reference to the changes in kinship terminology discussed in this paper.

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(1) A simultaneous diffusion of kinship terms and their social correlates occurred most commonly.

(2) In some instances changes in behavior patterns occurred far in advance of changes in terminology. (In Sweden the terms have not yet changed.)

Two exceptional cases are worthy of attention. One instance (Finland and Lithuania, cf. supra) consisted of borrowing the mixed type of terminology by a people formerly having a bifurcate-collateral type. As we have previously noted both of these types of terminology appear to be functional correlates of extended family organization, and thus this case does not in fact represent an exception to the hypothesis of correlation between types of system of kinship nomenclature and forms of the family. A second case, however, appears to represent an exception to this hypothesis. In North Albania the borrowing of part of the Italian affinal terminology is incongruous with Albanian sib organization and the levirate.

In conclusion, it appears warranted to state that the results of this research support our original assumption that changes in systems of kinship terms are primarily the result of changes in other aspects of culture, especially changes in social organization. Typically, among the instances of change noted, both the social organization and the systems of kinship terminology underwent change. Whether or not the changes in social organization occurred under acculturative circumstances, other and fundamental alterations in culture, especially technological and economic developments, appear ultimately to be the motivating factors.

ABBREVIATIONS

Au - Aunt (i.e., father's sister and/or mother's sister)

Br - Brother

Cf - Female-cousin (i.e., daughter of parent's sibling)

Cm - Male-cousin (i.e., son of parent's sibling)

Da - Daughter

Fa - Father

Gr - Grand

Hu - Husband

Mo - Mother

Ne - Nephew (i.e., sibling's son)

Ni - Niece (i.e., sibling's daughter)

Si - Sister

So - Son

Sp - Spouse

Un - Uncle (i.e., father's brother and/or mother's brother)

Wi - Wife

SOURCES
Germanic Branch

Old High German: Bibliography, Deecke, 1870; Delbrück, 1889; Kluge and Götze, 1951; Miklosich, 1886. Middle High German: Bibliography, Deecke, 1870; Delbrück, 1889; Kluge, 1918; Kluge and Götze, 1951. High German: Respondents, male born 1931 in Aichach, Swaben; male born 1902 in Stuttgart; female born 1907 in Alzey, Rheinhessen; male born 1934 in Berlin; female born 1905 in Würzburg; female born 1907 in Hannover; male born 1885 in Würzburg. Bibliography, Klatt, 1929; Morgan, 1870. Swiss-German: Bibliography, Deecke, 1870; Morgan, 1870. Yiddish: Respondent, female born 1929 in Bialystok, Poland. Westphalian-German or Platt Deutsch: Bibliography, Kluge and Götze, 1951; Morgan, 1870. Dutch: Respondent, male born 1925 in Bloemendal, Holland. Bibliography, Anonymous, n.d.; Deecke, 1870; Kluge and Götze, 1951; Morgan, 1870. Flemish: Bibliography, Morgan, 1870. Frisian: Respondent, male born ca. 1900 in Friesland, Holland. Bibliography, Deecke, 1870; Kluge and Götze, 1951. Gothic: Bibliography, Deecke, 1870; Delbrück, 1889; Grimm, 1868; Kluge and Götze, 1951; Miklosich, 1886. Danish: Respondent, female born 1900 in Copenhagen, Denmark. Bibliography, Kluge and Götze, 1951; Magnussen, 1944; Morgan, 1870. Norwegian: Respondent, female born 1936 in Hamar, Norway. Bibliography, Morgan, 1870; Scavenius, 1949. Swedish: Respondents, male born ca. 1900 in Bohuslän, Sweden; male born 1926 in Dalsland, Sweden; male born 1925 in Skäne, Sweden. Bibliography, Deecke, 1870; Kluge and Götze, 1951; Morgan, 1870. Icelandic: Respondent, male born 1927 in Reykjavik, Iceland. Bibliography, Deecke, 1870; Delbrück, 1889; Kluge and Götze, 1951; Morgan, 1870. Anglo-Saxon: Bibliography, Deecke, 1870; Delbrück, 1889; Kluge and Götze, 1951; Morgan, 1870; Toller, 1882. English: Respondents, male born 1895 in Cooineen Parish, County Claire, Ireland; female born 1931 in County Longford, Ireland. Bibliography, Burton, 1954; Murray, 1888-1933; Schneider and Homans, 1955.

Romance Branch

Latin: Bibliography, Andrews, 1907; Delbrück, 1889; Grandgent, 1907; Hocart, 1928; Kluge and Götze, 1951; Miklosich, 1886; Morgan, 1870; Sapir, 1919; Snagovano, 1867; Tappolet, 1895; Wallis, 1918. Italian: Respondents, male born 1892 in St. John, Calabria, Italy; female born ca. 1900 in St. John, Calabria, Italy. Bibliography, Delbrück, 1889; Kluge and Götze, 1951; Morgan, 1870; Tappolet, 1895. Spanish: Respondents, male born 1870 in Lucena, Cordova, Spain; male born 1914 in Mexico City, Mexico; male born 1923 in Mexico City, Mexico; female born ca. 1930 in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Bibliography, Morgan, 1870; Tappolet, 1895. Sephardic-Spanish: Respondent, male born ca. 1888 in Salonica, Greece. Portuguese: Bibliography, Morgan, 1870; Tappolet, 1895. Catalan: Respondent, male born 1906 in San Lorenzo, Majorca, Spain. Bibliography, Tappolet, 1895. Provençal: Respondent, female born 1903 in Nice, France. Bibliography, Tappolet, 1895. French: Respondents, male born 1930 in south France; male born ca. 1925 in Tunis. Bibliography, Delbrück, 1889; Kluge and Götze, 1951; Morgan, 1870; Snagovano, 1867; Tappolet, 1895. Rhaetian: Bibliography, Bezzola and Tönjachen, 1944; Tappolet, 1895; Vieli, 1944. Rumanian: Bibliography, Flora, 1952; Miklosich, 1886; Spanier, 1936; Snagovano, 1867; Tappolet, 1895.

Celtic Branch

Irish-Gaelic: Respondent, male born 1926 in Ard na Caithne (Smerwick), County Kerry, Ireland. Bibliography, Delbrück, 1889; Foley, 1855; Fournier, n.d.; Morgan, 1870; O'Reilly, n.d.; Thurneysen, 1946. Scotch-Gaelic: Bibliography, Morgan, 1870. Manx: Bibliography, Goodwin, 1947; Jackson, 1955; Kneen, 1938; Morgan, 1870. Welsh: Respondent, male born 1879 in Gilfach Goch, Genmorganshire, Wales. Bibliography, Delbrück, 1889; Kluge and Götze, 1951; Morgan, 1870; Sapir, 1919; Wallis, 1918. Cornish: Bibliography, Delbrück, 1889; Kluge and Götze, 1951; Sapir, 1919; Wallis, 1918. Breton: Respondent, male born 1884 in Paris, France.

Slavic Branch

Old Slavic: Bibliography, Delbrück, 1889; Kluge and Götze, 1951; Miklosich, 1886; Sapir, 1919; Vasmer, 1953; Wallis, 1918. Bulgarian: Respondents, male born 1933 in Bulgaria; male born 1905 in Sophia, Bulgaria. Bibliography, Cakalov, 1948; Cukapov, 1951; Krauss, 1885; Lukanov, 1947; Morgan, 1870; Russev, 1947. SerboCroatian: Respondents, male born ca. 1926 in Dalmatia; male born ca. 1928 in the United States; male born ca. 1930 in Yugoslavia; female born 1903 in Milna, Brac, Dalmatia. Bibliography, Bogadek, 1944; Delbrück, 1889; Djordjevic, 1948; Drvodelic, 1953; Durham, 1928; Flora, 1952; Kluge and Götze, 1951; Krauss, 1885; Miklosich, 1886; Petrovii, 1951; Vasmer, 1953. Slovenian: Respondents, male born 1927 in village near Nestoplja Vas near Semic; female born ca. 1930 in China; male born 1929 in Predgrad (Polyane), Slovenia. Bibliography, Anonymous, n.d.; Delbrück, 1889; Kotnik, 1954; Ruzena, 1954; Vasmer, 1953. Russian: Respondents, male born 1902 in Harbin, Manchuria; female born 1906 in Merv, Turkestan; female born 1911 in Ukrainia; male born 1908 in Irkutsk, Siberia; female born ca. 1895 in Russia; male born 1902 in Vladivostok, Siberia. Bibliography, Cukapov, 1951; Delbrück, 1889; Kluge and Götze, 1951; Lukanov, 1947; Miklosich, 1886; Morgan, 1870; Müller, 1944; Preobrazhensky, 1951; Rotscteli, 1942; Vasmer, 1953. White Russian: Bibliography, Miklosich, 1886; Vasmer, 1953. Ukrainian: Bibliography, Kalinovic, 1948; Koenig, 1937; Kret, 1931; Miklosich, 1886; Podvezko, 1948; Vasmer, 1953. Lusatian: Bibliography, Miklosich, 1886; Vasmer, 1953. Slovak: Bibliography, Hrobak, 1944; Konus, 1941; Miklosich, 1886; Morgan, 1870; Vasmer, 1953. Czech: Respondents, female born ca. 1926 in Prague; female born 1916 in Caslar, Czechoslovakia; male born 1932 in south Moravia. Bibliography, Cheshire, 1933 and 1935; Jonas, 1892; Kluge and Götze, 1951; Kopestkii, 1951; Miklosich, 1886; Vasmer, 1953. Polish: Respondents, female born 1929 in Warsaw, Poland; male born 1901 in northeast Poland; male born 1925 in Silesia (Slask), Poland; male born 1915 in Silesia (Slask), Poland. Bibliography, Brückner, 1944; Kierst and Callier, n.d.; Miklosich, 1886; Morgan, 1870; Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927; Vasmer, 1953.

Baltic Branch

Lettish: Respondents, female born 1928 in Liepaja (Libau), Latvia; male born 1931 in Slampe, Latvia. Bibliography, Delbrück, 1889; Grimm, 1868; Kluge and Götze, 1951; Miklosich, 1868. Lithuanian: Bibliography, Delbrück, 1889; Grimm, 1868; Kluge and Götze, 1951; Miklosich, 1868; Morgan, 1870; Peteraitis, 1948; Sapir, 1919; Wallis, 1918.

Greek Branch

Ancient Greek: Bibliography, Delbrück, 1889; Hocart, 1928; Kluge and Götze, 1951; Liddell and Scott, 1882 and 1940; Miklosich, 1886; Morgan, 1870; Sapir,

1919; Tappolet, 1895; Wallis, 1918. **Modern Greek**: Respondents, male born 1919 in Aegion, Peloponnesus, Greece; male born 1935 in Greece; male born 1926 in Athens, Greece. Bibliography, Morgan, 1870.

Armenian Branch

Armenian: Respondents, male born 1895 in Sis (Kozan), Adana, Turkey; male born 1937 in the United States. Bibliography, Delbrück, 1889; Kluge and Götze, 1951; Morgan, 1870.

Albanian Branch

Albanese: Respondent, male born 1928 in Piana degli Albanesi, Italy. Bibliography, Delbrück, 1889; Durham, 1928; Kluge and Götze, 1951; Tappolet, 1895.

Iranian Branch

Zend: Bibliography, Delbrück, 1889; Grimm, 1868; Kluge and Götze, 1951; Miklosich, 1886. Persian: Respondent, male born 1932 in Kabul, Afghanistan. Bibliography, Grimm, 1868; Morgan, 1870. Pushtu: Respondent, male born 1932 in Laghman, Jalal-Abad, Afghanistan. Kurdish: Respondent, male born 1929 in Sulaimania, Iraq. Bibliography, Morgan, 1870.

Indic Branch

Sanskrit: Bibliography, Delbrück, 1889; Hocart, 1928; Karve, 1953; Miklosich, 1886. Sindhi, Punjabi, Hindi, Pahari, Bihari, Bengali, Assami, Nepali, Rajastani, Gujarati, Uriya, Marathi: Bibliography, Karve, 1953.

Finno-Ugrian Stock

Finnish: Respondents, female born 1930 in Pori, Finland; female born ca. 1895 in Vähäkyrö, Österbotten, Finland; male born 1925 in Kuopio, Savo, Finland; male born 1927 in the United States; male born 1916 in Hämoenlinna, Häme, Finland. Bibliography, Arminen, 1916; Harva, 1947; Milanovio, 1946; Morgan, 1870. Esthonian: Bibliography, Grimm, 1868; Morgan, 1870. Lappish: Bibliography, Solem, 1933; Whitaker, 1955. Hungarian: Respondents, male born 1896 in Kamorom, Hungary; female born ca. 1900 in Budapest, Hungary. Bibliography, Grimm, 1868; Kaxana, 1946; Laszlo, n.d.; Miklosich, 1886; Morgan, 1870.

Basque Stock

Basque: Respondent, female born 1912 in Banca, France. Bibliography, Lafitte, n.d.

Turkic Stock

Turkish: Bibliography, Morgan, 1870.

Semitic Stock

Arabic: Respondent, female born 1933 in Ramallah, Palestine. Bibliography, Davies, 1949; Morgan, 1870. Hebrew: Bibliography, Morgan, 1870.

Dravidian Stock

Tamil, Andhra, Kannada, Malayalam: Bibliography, Karve, 1953.

ENDNOTES

1. This study was first circulated in 1956 within the confines of the University of California (Berkeley) as a doctoral dissertation. That same year, through the efforts of Edward Norbeck, now of Rice University, it was mimeographed in some sixty copies by the Department of Anthropology at Berkeley for distribution among kinship specialists here and abroad. Now, seven years later, it would be tempting to enlarge the analysis, but other commitments do not make this a likelihood for the foreseeable future. In the meantime, a small but steady demand for copies exists among scholars working in the same or related fields. Publication in this issue of the Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers is in response to these requests. Except for minor changes outside the body of the text, it is reproduced without change from the 1956 manuscript.

   This exploration into European kinship terminologies had its inception in a seminar given by Edward Norbeck. From the beginning Edward Norbeck and Robert H. Lowie have given guidance and assistance, and to them I owe a great debt of gratitude. I am grateful to George M. Foster and Wolfram Eberhard, who have helped in many ways. I would also like to express my thanks to the seventy-four people who served as informants; but for their kindness and generosity this project would not have been possible. The following anthropologists, who received copies in the 1956 distribution, very generously submitted comments and criticisms: Kathleen Aberle, John Barnes, Alan Beals, Gertrude Dole, Munro Edmondson, Fred Eggan, Raymond Firth, Ward H. Goodenough, Felix Keesing, Clyde Kluckhohn, George P. Murdock, David Schneider, Alexander Spoehr, Wayne Suttles, Sol Tax, and Mischa Titiev. To them I extend my most sincere thanks, and the assurance that their contributions, which in some cases were lengthy and detailed, will be incorporated in any future version that might be undertaken.

2. Only terms of reference are considered in this paper.

3. The kinship institutions associated with the Sicilian-Albanese type of nomenclature have not been investigated for this project.

4. For a discussion of the associate Finno-Ugrian terms see Harva, 1947.

5. The terminological bifurcation of father's brother and mother's brother is found in Homeric literature (Liddell and Scott, 1940, 1349 πατρο-, 1131 μῆτραωϥ), but the earliest record of the bifurcation of parent's sisters is in the use of the term piátra for father's sister by Xanthus in the fifth century B.C. (Liddell and Scott, 1940, 1402 πιάτρα) and matrokasignétai for mother's sister by Aeschylus around the sixth to fifth centuries (Delbrück, 1889:487).

6. According to Miklosich (1886, teta) and Delbrück (1889:497-498), stryja, stryjka, and strynja are terms denoting the father's sister, and teta, the mother's sister. If this is true then the Old Slavic kinship system was bifurcate-collateral. A reexamination of the evidence led us to the conclusion, however, that teta denoted both the father's sister and the mother's sister in the Old Slavic language and the terms stryja, stryjka, and strynja denoted the father's brother's wife.

7. With the puzzling exception of mountainous, remote areas of Afghanistan where the Pushtu-speaking tribesmen have a lineal terminology. We have

not attempted to investigate the cultural correlates of this kinship system.

8. Nor, indeed, is it used by the Brahman castes in Maharashtra (H. Orenstein, personal communication).

9. In Danish the terms now used are fätter, "male-cousin" and kusine, "female-cousin." Almost identical terms are used in Dano-Norwegian and Austrian-German. The reason for this one-sided borrowing probably exists in a purely phonetic factor, namely, that the French nasalized vowel found in the term cousin, but not in cousine, militated against its diffusion. This is most clearly seen in Austria where the present use of vetter and kusine was preceded by the use of cousin and cousine, the latter set being the most frequently used terms in the late nineteenth century according to R. H. Lowie (personal communication). In Swedish and English this phonetic factor had a different effect; i.e., the merging of male and female cousin in the terms kusin and cousin, respectively. It did not, however, prevent the diffusion of the French term into many of the other languages including others of the Germanic group.

10. In some dialects a sex distinction is made and in others it is not, e.g., Calabrese nepote (male), nepota (female).

11. Except that enekel denotes both grandson and granddaughter as did the same term in Old High German, Middle High German, and New High German until the seventeenth century.

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    n.d.   Standaard Woordenboek, engelsch-nederlandsch, nederlandsch-engelsch. Antwerpen.

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